

A SECOND STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS/  
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TRAINING IN  
USAREUR

Dale K. Brown, William S. Edmonds, Silas J. White,  
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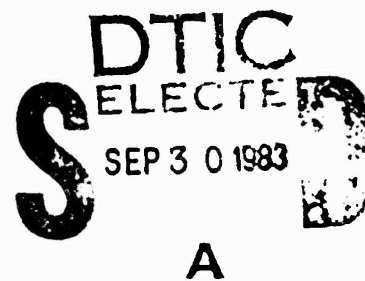
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from pg. 10  
In general, the findings of the earlier study were confirmed and extended. The racial climate is continuing to worsen slowly. While some improvements were noted in community-level EO training, unit-level EO training continues to decline. Large perceptual disparities were noted between enlisted and chain-of-command personnel with chain-of-command personnel tending to see a far more positive race relations and equal opportunity situation than do enlisted personnel. The solutions recommended to counteract the generally worsening EO climate centered around more effective EO training for chain-of-command personnel at all levels.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**Study Title:** A Second Study of Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Training in USAREUR.

**Authors:** Dale K. Brown, William S. Edmonds, Silas J. White, Exequiel R. Sevilla, Jr., and Peter G. Nordlie

**Sponsor:** Alexandria Office, Defense Supply Service—Washington

**Contract Number:** MDA 903-78-C-2024

**Principal Investigator:** Peter G. Nordlie

**Contracting Officer's  
Technical Representative:** Dr. James A. Thomas

→ This is one of a series of reports from a study to analyze and assess the Army race relations and equal opportunity training. It is a followup to the original USAREUR RR/EO training assessment for which data were collected in October 1976 and May 1977, and which were reported in: Marcia A. Gilbert and Peter G. Nordlie, *An Analysis of Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Training in USAREUR* (Presidio of Monterey, Ca.: ARI Field Unit, July 1978), James A. Thomas, Technical Monitor. The major conclusions from that first study are given on pages 8-9 of the present report.

→ As part of the Command's continuing effort to conduct an effective Equal Opportunity Program, Headquarters, USAREUR, requested that the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) conduct a survey of equal opportunity conditions in Europe in the summer of 1978. The survey data were intended to be used as a basis for studying changes in EO conditions in the Command so that the EO Program could be modified to keep pace with new aspects of EO. 240 1478

The primary objectives of the research were to:

- describe the status of EO education and training within USAREUR;
- describe the racial climate in USAREUR;

- determine Army members' perceptions of institutional discrimination within individual units and the Army as a whole;
- compare current results with the 1976-77 survey to identify changes that may be occurring.

Research teams visited nine communities in West Germany in July-August of 1978, seven of which had been visited in the previous study. Data were collected from three samples:

- (1) questionnaires administered to junior enlisted personnel (E5 and below) (N = 2,771).
- (2) questionnaires administered to a sample of chain-of-command personnel (E6 - O7) (N = 499).
- (3) group interviews and questionnaires administered to a sample of Equal Opportunity Staff personnel (N = 64).

The findings of the report are organized under the headings indicated below:

Racial Climate in USAREUR  
 Perceptions of Institutional Racial Discrimination  
 Perceptions of Reverse Racism  
 Enlisted Perception of Equal Opportunity for Female Soldiers  
 Perceptions of EO Training in USAREUR  
 Synthesis of Findings  
 Conclusions and Recommendations

Highlights of the findings are indicated below.

- The trend of a slowly worsening racial climate detected in the earlier 1976-77 surveys was confirmed again in 1978.
- Much of the increasing racial tension is coming from whites who are perceiving increased reverse discrimination.
- Chain-of-command personnel tend to believe that the racial situation in USAREUR is a far less serious problem than do junior enlisted and EO personnel.

- Community-level EO orientation training appears to be reaching more new arrivals than ever before but unit EO training continues to appear to decline.
- Although still relatively infrequent, the incidence of direct physical interracial confrontations appear to be increasing, the reported frequency doubling from 1977 to 1978.
- Large perceptual differences continue to persist between majority and minority persons in the junior enlisted ranks. Most minority soldiers, especially black soldiers, continue to perceive discrimination against them at both a personal and an institutional level while most white soldiers disagree with that assessment and instead often see themselves as victims of "reverse discrimination."
- There are large perceptual differences on EO issues between junior enlisted personnel and Army leaders, and these differences are compounded by racial differences within the leader ranks:
  - on questions concerning the equality of the Army as an institution and the role played by leaders in the Army, leaders, regardless of race, express more favorable perceptions than do junior enlisted personnel.
  - on questions where race discrimination is treated more generally, without specifying the role of leaders, minority leaders answer less favorably than do white leaders, but not so negatively as minority junior enlisted personnel.
  - Army leaders who are white see a much different reality than do black junior enlisted personnel. There is virtually no area related to EO where these two groups are in close agreement.
  - Army leaders who are minority group members are more optimistic on EO matters than black junior personnel, but less so than either white junior personnel or white leaders.
- Sex discrimination, both personal and institutional, is a serious and widespread problem from the viewpoint of most female soldiers surveyed. Their enlisted male counterparts often admit to practicing personal sexism, in the form of sexist language and behavior.
- Feelings of "reverse discrimination" on the part of white soldiers continue to reach high levels and are apparently still on the increase in some areas. This negative perception of the Army EO Program is a decidedly disruptive influence.



- Racial tensions within the military communities are exacerbated by by anti-American, anti-military and anti-minority behaviors on the part of German civilians.
- Along with reported increases in the frequency of negative inter-racial behaviors, there is also some evidence that positive helping associations between members of the different races are also increasing slightly among other segments of the population.
- Although racist organizations do not yet represent a major threat in any of the communities surveyed, there is evidence of Ku Klux Klan activities in several communities. In every community there was a small group of respondents who professed personal knowledge of racist organizations and their members.
- Staff members in primary duty EO positions have a universally pessimistic view of EO conditions in their communities, and frequently report a decided deterioration in racial climate.
- Command support for the EO Program is reported by EO staff to be present, for the most part, at higher command echelons, with decreasing support for and emphasis on EO at the lower echelons. At company level there is reputed to be a widespread perception that the Army's racial problems are all in the past, and that the EO Program has outlived its usefulness.
- Army leaders still tend to focus on personal discrimination at the lower enlisted levels when talking about EO, and tend to be unaware of or not fully attuned to the role they, as leaders, play in the process of institutional discrimination.

The USAREUR command has clearly placed a high emphasis on RR/EO training and has repeatedly initiated real efforts to make it more effective. That these efforts achieve so little is testimony to the virulence and ubiquity of the basic problem and its stubborn resistance to change.

It is clear that at the highest level in USAREUR, the program has now, and has had, a high level of support and sustained commitment on the part of leadership. However, as the program filters down through the chain of command, it tends to lose that characteristic because it is being implemented by personnel who, although they will follow directives,

do not understand the nature of the program or perceive its importance to the accomplishment of their mission. At the unit level, where the program is implemented, it has tended to acquire a strong negative image. This is not likely to be overcome as long as those *responsible* for implementing the program share that image. To change that fact, the chain-of-command personnel must first be educated such that they understand and accept the goals of the program.

This, of course, is not easy. At the company level especially, where the commander is deluged with high-priority requirements that compete for his attention and time, the problem is how to get that commander to understand that his failure to carry out equal opportunity responsibilities can directly and adversely impact on his unit's ability to perform its mission and on the commander's ability to do his job. Only when commanders become convinced of that fact are they likely to attend to and carry out their equal opportunity responsibilities.

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**A SECOND STUDY OF  
RACE RELATIONS/EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TRAINING  
IN USAREUR**

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW**

As part of the Command's continuing effort to conduct an active and productive Equal Opportunity Program, Headquarters, USAREUR, requested that the Army Research Institute (ARI), conduct a survey of equal opportunity conditions in Europe in the summer of 1978. A primary objective of the survey was to acquire current information to be compared with results of a similar survey conducted in 1976-1977. The survey data were intended to be used as a basis for studying changes in EO conditions in the Command so that the EO Program might be modified to keep pace with new aspects of EO.

The survey was conducted by Human Sciences Research, Inc., under contract to ARI and occurred during the period 24 July through 4 August 1978.

#### **Objectives of the Survey**

The specific objectives of the survey were to:

- Describe the status of EO education and training within USAREUR.
- Describe the racial climate in USAREUR.
- Determine Army members' perceptions of institutional discrimination within individual units and the Army as a whole.
- Compare the current results with the 1976-1977 survey to identify changes that may be occurring.

The survey included questions about: factual knowledge; perceptions and attitudes; and behavioral interactions. Both personal and institutional aspects of EO were examined. In all, three separate questionnaires and an interview were used, with three separate populations.

## The Respondent Samples

Three groups of respondents were selected as representing populations whose perspectives on EO issues are extremely important to the success of the USAREUR EO Program:

1. Enlisted personnel in grades E1 through E5 (plus a few newly-promoted E6's).
2. Chain of command personnel in grades E6 through O5; and
3. EO staff members.

These respondents were selected in the following ways.

Nine U.S. Army communities were selected for participation on the basis of community size and geographic spread within USAREUR. The nine were: Giessen, Hanau, Baumholder, Schweinfurt, Bamberg, Augsburg, Mannheim, Kaiserslautern, and Berlin. Within each community, specific company-size units were selected from the table of organization. The number of units per community ranged from seven to twelve, were selected to represent a full range of combat, combat support and combat service support activities. Both headquarters and line units were included.

Once individual units had been selected within the communities, separate rosters for the units were prepared for majority group soldiers in the E1 to E5 group and for minority soldiers in those same grades. Using a systematic selection procedure, each unit was sampled so that a maximum of 40 percent of unit strength would participate in the survey, divided about equally between majority and minority group soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Sampling was done

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<sup>1</sup> A word of explanation is needed concerning the category that has been labelled here as "others." The intent of this category was to have it contain data for all non-black racial and ethnic minority respondents. Because of their relatively small numbers, a variety of such groups were to be combined into a single category rather than exclude them completely or provide information on a large number of potentially very small groups, sometimes only one or two persons. In reality, however, it is quite likely that this "other" category contains, in addition to responses of non-black minorities, the responses of some unknown number of both white and black respondents who, for whatever reason, described themselves as "neither black nor white." The end result is that it is unclear just whose responses are included in the "other" category, and it is virtually impossible to determine the answer to that question. The policy followed here is to report data from this category as if it were homogeneously made up of non-black minorities, even though this is, to an unknown extent, a faulty assumption. The reader must bear in mind, then, that the other category is not a homogeneous group, and that any judgment about the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of Latinos, Asian-Americans, or any other such group can only be determined by a study which deliberately attempts to oversample those particular groups. The present study did not.

on a name-by name basis, in an effort to eliminate bias due to local selection of respondents; i.e., the "hey you" method of sampling.

With the same units, members of the chain of command were also selected as respondents. A maximum of eight leaders was set per company-sized unit; in addition, several members of the chain of command at battalion level were also surveyed.

The EO staff sample was scheduled to include a maximum of eight graduates of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) at each community. In practice, it was not always possible to obtain a sample with those specifications. As a result many additional-duty EO staff personnel assigned at battalion or lower echelon, who had not received their training at DRRI, were included. In some instances, every available EO staff member, from company up to community level, was included in the local sample.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 summarize the characteristics of the three respondent samples.

**Table 1**  
**Characteristics of the Junior Enlisted Sample**

		1a. Race					
		Elack	White	Neither Black Nor White			
Number		1,078	1,456	237			
Percent		38.8%	52.5%	8.6%			
		1b. Sex					
		Male	Female	No Response			
Number		2,585	162	24			
Percent		93.3%	5.8%	0.9%			
		1c. Rank					
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	No. Response
Number	54	258	562	1,069	530	255	43
Percent	1.9%	9.3%	20.3%	38.6%	19.1%	9.2%	1.5%



**Table 2**  
**Characteristics of the Chain of Command**  
**Sample**

	NCO	Warrant	Officer	Total
Black	80	6	14	100
White	174	4	221	399
	<hr/> 254	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 235	<hr/> 499

**Table 3**  
**Characteristics of the EO Staff**  
**Sample**

	NCO	Officer	Total
Black	27	4	31
White	19	6	25
Other	8	0	8
	<hr/> 54	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 64

#### **Data Collection Instruments**

In all, three separate questionnaires were designed for the survey, one for each of the groups named above. In addition, a set of group interview questions was designed for use with the EO staff members.

#### **The Junior Enlisted Questionnaire**

A questionnaire containing 174 items plus six individual biographic questions was designed for the junior enlisted group. The questionnaire (entitled "Race Relations Education Program Survey") was based on a survey instrument used in a 1976-77 assessment of the Army's Racial Awareness Program. The bulk of the items employed in 1978

are identical to those used in 1976-77. Some items were deleted from the earlier version, and a few new items have been added; but 149 of the 174 items used in the 1978 survey were also included in the earlier questionnaire.

### **The Chain of Command Questionnaire**

The questionnaire for leaders was also based on the 1976-77 questionnaire. It was designed for maximum duplication of questions contained in the 1978 Junior Enlisted Questionnaire, so that perceptions of junior enlisted and leaders could be compared on certain items. Of the 83 questions in the Chain of Command Questionnaire, 71 are directly comparable to those asked of junior enlisted. The additional questions concerned Executive Seminars, and were asked only of leaders.

### **The EOSO Staff Survey**

The questionnaire completed by EO staff members consisted of 38 items, of which 35 are also contained in the Chain of Command Questionnaire and the Race Relations Education Program Survey. In addition, space was provided for spontaneous comments of EO staff members.

### **The EOSO Staff Interview**

A standard set of questions, designed to elicit more detail about local EO conditions than could be obtained with the questionnaire, was used in group interviews with EO staff members. The topics covered here included those covered in the questionnaires. In all, 12 general questions were included in the interview.

### **Comparability with 1976-77 Results**

Although the objectives and conditions studied differed somewhat between the 1976-77 study and the 1978 survey, and sampling methods were slightly modified in 1978, it was still possible to analyze the junior enlisted data in such a way as to make direct comparisons between the two points in time on key issues. Where comparisons are possible and appear to have practical relevance to the USAREUR EO Program, they have been described in this report. The findings from the 1976-77 survey are summarized below.

## Summary of 1976-77 Survey Results

There is no evidence that the racial climate is improving and there is some evidence that it is, in fact, deteriorating. With respect to responses to a few global questions on the state of race relations, the response patterns of late 1976 and early 1977, are closer to those of 1972 than they are to those of the less tense period of 1974. Whites and non-whites are significantly different in their perceptions on almost every indicator. While whites and non-whites live and work in a common environment, the race relations/equal opportunity reality each group perceives has little in common.

The impression drawn from interviews and observations as well as from questionnaire responses is that there are growing racial tensions in USAREUR but they are obscured by a surface calm inasmuch as the normal telltale signs of violent confrontations are not occurring. In general, we detect a strong current of feeling among whites that the RR/EO program has "overcorrected." Among blacks, the dominant feeling seems to be one of unmet expectations. Overall, we believe the racial climate in USAREUR is not improving and may, in fact, be worsening. This is occurring at the same time that the priority and emphasis on RR/EO training also appears to be waning.

### The Conduct of RR/EO Training in USAREUR

The total amount of RR/EO training occurring in USAREUR is greater than anywhere else in the Army. The amount of unit training, however, appears to be declining under the new FY 77 program. The problems commanders experienced with the preceding Phase III program are still present in the new program. There is some indication that the 12-hour Community-Level orientation training conducted by DRRI or URRS graduates may be the most effective block of instruction of its type. The Executive Seminar part of the program appears to hold promise of being useful, although too few had been held at the time of the survey to obtain much information.

Judging from the lower frequency of occurrence of unit training and from discussions with commanders and RR/EO personnel, it was concluded that, as it is being implemented at the unit level, RR/EO training is accorded a very low priority by chain-of-command personnel in general.

There appears to be a general consensus at all levels and for all races that a *need* exists for RR/EO training. There is also a fairly high consensus that the unit training program is not meeting that need. RR/EO programs have a fairly negative image among both blacks and whites.

Many blacks feel that the Army is only interested in the program for public relations purposes or as a token gesture aimed at vocal minority groups. They believe that the Army is not really committed to equal opportunity and they distrust the motivations of commanders.

Many whites dislike the RR/EO program because too much emphasis is placed on minority history and culture and they are concerned that RR/EO programs only benefit minorities. They recognize that problems exist, but they dislike the approach taken in training.

#### **Changes in Attitudes and Perceptions [from the 1976-1977 Survey]**

Data collected at the end of the six-month period under study, overall show signs of a slight improvement in the racial climate and in attitudes toward the RR/EO program during that time period during which the FY 77 program was in effect—October 1976-May 1977. That improvement was small, and, with some indicators changing in the opposite direction, it was not interpreted as signaling a real upturn in what was believed to be a worsening racial climate.

The most striking finding is just how stable and resistant to change are the black-white differences in perceptions and attitudes. The inability to have much effect on these differences is testimony either to the fact that the training program is not being vigorously and effectively implemented or that the basic model on which the training program is based is inappropriate to the task. The unit training model which requires chain-of-command personnel to conduct training in subjects in which they are generally ill-prepared and uncomfortable is not likely to produce effective training even if it were vigorously and enthusiastically implemented. In addition to the inappropriateness of the basic model, its implementation by personnel who themselves are not persuaded of the importance and validity of the program's content and goals cannot help but communicate messages about the low priority, non-credible status of the program.

The USAREUR command has clearly placed a high emphasis on RR/EO training and has initiated repeated and real efforts to make it more effective. That these efforts achieve so little is testimony to the virulence and ubiquity of the basic problem and its stubborn resistance to change. In the eyes of the people the program is intended to reach, the program suffers from a lack of credibility. At the unit level where the program is implemented, it has tended to acquire a strong negative image. This is not likely to be overcome as long as those responsible for implementing the program share that image. To change that fact, the chain-of-command personnel must first be trained such that they understand and accept the goals of the RR/EO program.

#### **Organization of the Report**

The report is organized with separate chapters devoted to survey findings in the areas of: racial climate; institutional discrimination; perceptions of "reverse racism"; equal opportunity for women in the Army; and EO education and training in USAREUR. Each of these chapters describes the 1978 survey findings on each issue for the three respondent

groups, where this is possible, and compares the perceptions of the three groups. Comparisons between 1978 and 1976-77 findings are also given in instances where there have been significant changes.

The final chapters summarize and synthesize the findings across all groups and all issues, and present conclusions and recommendations based on that synthesis.

Appendix A contains all the Junior Enlisted Questionnaire data; Appendix B contains all the data from the Chain of Command Questionnaire; and Appendix C contains all the data from the EO Staff Questionnaire. Chi-square tests of the significance of the differences in responses by race are included at the end of Appendix A and Appendix B.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE RACIAL CLIMATE IN USAREUR**

One part of the data collected in USAREUR concerned the perceptions of soldiers about the "racial climate." The goals of the EO Program are aimed at improving the racial climate and it is through positive changes in the climate that one aspect of the program's success can be measured.

The racial climate data reported in this study were collected from samples of three different groups of soldiers: one consisting of enlisted personnel in grades E-1 through E5; one made up of chain-of-command personnel in rank O1 through O6; and one composed of personnel selected from the Equal Opportunity Program Staff Office at each community visited during the study. The questionnaires for each group partially overlapped each other.

The findings on racial climate in USAREUR and the implications for both the present and future of that climate are presented in this chapter. Although, in most instances, the survey items were specific to a particular sample, there are some items which were the same in two or more of the questionnaires. In these instances, the responses among the different samples will be presented. Also, because many of the items presented to the enlisted sample were included in the similar study conducted in 1976-77, comparisons of the responses between the two studies are made and significant changes in response between the two studies are identified.

#### **Perceptions of Different Racial Groups Concerning Treatment Received in USAREUR**

Much of what soldiers perceive about the racial climate is in part determined by their perceptions of differences in the treatment received by members of their own racial group *vis a vis* their perceptions of the treatment received by another racial group or groups.

In general, non-whites in the Army are treated:

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1023)	(N=1380)	(N=216)	
9%	47%	24%	better than whites.
27	46	42	the same as whites.
64	7	34	worse than whites.

In addition to this general item regarding treatment, enlisted personnel also were asked about the treatment they personally had received in specific locations, either in the military community or in the local civilian community. Again, there were differences by race in the perceptions of treatment in almost all of these situations. Generally, though, compared with whites, significantly larger percentages of blacks and others report that they have personally been the victims of discrimination. Only in response to the item regarding discrimination in assignment to Army duty has a significant percentage of whites answered in the affirmative.

In the past two years, have you personally, been a victim of race discrimination in any of the following areas of Army life?

Local civilian housing

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1036)	(N=1436)	(N=233)	
19%	7%	18%	Yes.
81	93	82	No.

Local civilian services.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1039)	(N=1433)	(N=233)	
42%	18%	34%	Yes.
58	82	66	No.

Army exchange services.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1033)	(N=1430)	(N=232)	
19%	9%	16%	Yes.
81	91	84	No.

In USAREUR, there are significantly large differences by race in the reports about the treatment received by USAREUR soldiers of different races.

Almost two-thirds of the black enlisted personnel compared to less than 10 percent of the whites report that non-white soldiers are treated worse than white soldiers. The remaining whites are almost evenly divided into two camps: one which reports that non-whites are treated the same as whites; and another which reports that non-whites are treated better.

The percentage of non-black minority<sup>2</sup> soldiers who report in the extreme categories is approximately midway between that of the blacks and the whites. It should be noted, however, that less than half the members of this group believe that non-whites are treated the same as whites.

In general, non-Whites in the Army are treated:

Leaders		
Black	White	
(N=100)	(N=428)	
11%	27%	better than Whites.
39	67	the same as Whites.
50	6	worse than Whites.

The responses of Army leaders also display similar differences by race in the perception of treatment. While half of black leaders sampled report that non-whites are treated worse than whites, only a small percentage of white leaders share that perception. White leaders, in contrast to their racial counterparts in the enlisted sample, mostly report that whites and non-whites are treated the same. Despite this general perception among white leaders there is, nevertheless, a significant percentage who believe that non-whites are treated better than whites.

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<sup>2</sup>See footnote 1, p. 4, for further definition of the "other" category.



# Army duty assignment.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1040)	(N=1427)	(N=237)	
51%	31%	45%	Yes.
49	69	55	No.

In addition to discrimination in these areas, fairly large percentages of non-white soldiers perceive that racial prejudices against them exist in the local German civilian community. This perception is especially true for blacks, although significantly larger percentages of others report this perception now than did so in 1977. However, a very large percentage of whites concur in this perception of non-white prejudice.

In your opinion, how much racial prejudice against non-white soldiers is there in the local civilian community surrounding this community?

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=896)	(N=1104)	(N=197)	
41%	23%	32%	A lot of prejudice.
44	45	49	Some prejudice.
15	32	19	Very little or no prejudice.

## Perceptions of the General State of Army Race Relations

Most soldiers in USAREUR, irrespective of their race, believe that race relations are not good. Personnel from the Equal Opportunity Program staff agree with this perception. Also, very few soldiers believe that Army race relations *improved* during the past year. There is, however, a difference by race regarding this perception. Although most non-whites generally do not believe that race relations are improving, the percentage that does is almost twice that of whites who report the same perception. The percentage of white enlisted personnel who believe that things are improving decreased more than ten percent since the 1977 study.

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other	(N=76)	
(N=1061)	(N=1428)	(N=234)		
18%	15%	15%	14%	In general, race relations in the Army are good.
51	52	49	54	In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
33	33	36	32	In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

Over the past year, race relations in the Army have:

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1032)	(N=1410)	(N=230)	
35%	20%	30%	been getting better.
52	62	55	not changed.
13	18	15	been getting worse.

A careful inspection of the data also reveals that the percentage of blacks and other minority personnel who believe that things are improving is almost twice the percentage of those groups who believe that race relations are currently good.

The percentage of EO staff members who believe that Army race relations are improving is approximately the same as that of the different racial groups. Additionally, almost two-thirds of these personnel report that unit racial tension is a serious problem in the community. Also, fewer than 15 percent of EO staffers believe that the problems of racial tension become fewer during the past year while almost 30 percent report unit racial tension has become more serious a problem.

Over the past year race relations in the Army:

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1032)	(N=1410)	(N=230)	(N=76)	
35%	20%	30%	28%	have been getting better.
52	62	55	51	have not changed.
13	18	15	21	have been getting worse.

Is racial tension a serious problem in the units at this community?

EO Staff	
(N=76)	
63%	Yes.
37	No.

How have the problems of unit racial tension changed in this community over the last year?

EO Staff	
(N=66)	
27%	The problems have become more serious.
60	The problems have not changed.
13	There are fewer problems.

In contrast to EO staff members and enlisted personnel, very few Army leaders say that race relations in the Army are poor. Even so, the percentage of black leaders who report that race relations are poor is more than twice that of white leaders. The percentage of Army leaders of each race who say that Army race relations are good is more than twice that of their racial counterparts in the enlisted sample.

Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Leaders		
Black (N=105)	White (N=432)	
33%	45%	In general, race relations in the Army are good.
55	50	In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
12	5	In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

Over the past year, race relations in the Army:

Leaders		
Black (N=103)	White (N=431)	
54%	44%	have been getting better.
40	51	have not changed.
6	5	have been getting worse.

### Behavioral and Attitudinal Elements of Racial Climate

The next sections describe the perceptions of USAREUR personnel about some of the specific behaviors and attitudes associated with intergroup relations in USAREUR.

#### Voluntary Racial Separation

One of the more important steps the Army took toward assuring its members of equality was the elimination of officially sanctioned racial segregation. One goal of the EO program is to encourage friendly and open interaction among all soldiers irrespective of their race. The data from this study indicate that most enlisted soldiers believe that on-duty racial

separation is bad for the unit. The percentage of white soldiers who reported that on-duty racial separation was bad for the unit was ten percent higher this time than in the 1977 study.

In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races in the same work unit avoid each other *during regular duty hours*?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1053)	(N=1433)	(N=230)	(N=103)	(N=434)	
15%	9%	14%	4%	1%	It is definitely good for the unit.
27	24	31	12	13	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
58	67	55	84	86	It is definitely bad for the unit.

In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races avoid each other *in their off-duty time*?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1053)	(N=1431)	(N=231)	(N=104)	(N=434)	
17%	12%	17%	3%	1%	It is definitely good for the unit.
41	43	33	32	38	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
42	45	50	65	61	It is definitely bad for the unit.

Army leaders exhibit similar patterns of response except that the percentages of each race that feel that on- and off-duty separation is bad is significantly higher among leaders.

Contrary to what might be expected given the prior perceptions, most soldiers believe that voluntary racial separation does occur and a substantial percentage believe that it occurs often. In comparison with last year's data, significantly larger percentages of soldiers from all races report that non-white soldiers voluntarily separate themselves both on and off duty. Also, the perceptions about self-separation by whites have changed during the year. Significantly larger percentages of whites and others now than in 1977 report that whites separate themselves from minority soldiers while *off duty*. In contrast, the percentages of all groups that now report seeing very little *on-duty* separation by whites has also increased slightly.

How often do WHITE personnel in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

Spend time with just Whites during off-duty hours.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1061)	(N=1445)	(N=235)	
73%	69%	65%	Very often/often
18	24	22	Sometimes
9	7	13	Seldom/never

Stick together while on the job.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1062)	(N=1442)	(N=235)	
53%	41%	42%	Very often/often
26	26	27	Sometimes
21	33	31	Seldom/never

How often do NON-WHITE or MINORITY personnel in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

Spend time with just non-Whites during off-duty hours.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1071)	(N=1444)	(N=234)	
54%	65%	51%	Very often/often
26	21	32	Sometimes
20	14	17	Seldom/never

How often do NON-WHITE or MINORITY personnel in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

Stick together while on the job.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1069)	(N=1447)	(N=233)	
45%	55%	40%	Very often/often
30	25	34	Sometimes
25	20	26	Seldom/never

Very few EO staff members believe that the different racial groups mix well, either on or off duty, and more than one-third believe that people from different races deliberately avoid doing things with people from races different from their own.

Whites and non-whites in this community mix well on and off duty.

**EO Staff**

(N=65)

26%	Agree/strongly agree
22	Neither agree nor disagree
52	Disagree/strongly disagree

Soldiers of different races avoid contact with one another whenever they can.

**EO Staff**

(N=65)

37%	Agree/strongly agree
34	Neither agree nor disagree
29	Disagree/strongly disagree

## Racial Conflict and Harassment

Given the increased frequency of polarization and the relatively low quality of race relations in USAREUR, it would seem probable that there also would be fairly frequent occurrence of interracial harassment and open racial conflict. The data from enlisted personnel and EO staff members show that while most people feel that interracial harassment seldom occurs, the percentage of those who say these behaviors occur at least is significant. As might be expected, there are differences by race in the perception of how frequently the members of one group harass members of another.

How often do Whites in this community get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1053)	(N=1442)	(N=233)	(N=76)	
17%	7%	13%	9%	Very often/often
16	8	14	26	Sometimes
67	85	73	65	Seldom/never

How often do non-White or minority personnel get together in certain situations to harass or keep Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1065)	(N=1445)	(N=234)	(N=76)	
11%	26%	17%	12%	Very often/often
17	21	21	25	Sometimes
72	53	62	63	Seldom/never

The picture with respect to overt racial conflict is somewhat disquieting. Although the perception of most enlisted soldiers is that this behavior almost never happens, the percentage of those who report that this behavior happens at least sometimes is *almost twice* that reported in the previous study. Further, many EO staff personnel report more frequent occurrence of conflict than do enlisted personnel and only half of the EO staff personnel believe that racial conflict occurs seldom or never which is substantially less than other junior enlisted personnel are saying.

How often do White and Non-White soldiers in this community form groups and challenge each other to fights?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1073)	(N=1453)	(N=236)	(N=76)	
10%	9%	13%	24%	Very often/often
16	16	19	26	Sometimes
74	75	68	50	Seldom/never

In addition to the perception that racial conflict frequently occurs, the majority of EO staff members believe that the chances of racial conflict in their communities are the same or are increasing compared to conditions a year earlier. Roughly 40 percent feel that the chances for overt conflict are greater today, which is twice the percentage who say that the chances are smaller.

Compared with last year, how great are the chances for overt racial conflict today in this community?

EO Staff	
(N=76)	
39%	The chances are greater.
39	The chances are the same.
21	The chances are smaller.

## Racist Organizations

The possibility that some of these negative behaviors could be the result of actions by organized, racially-oriented, militant groups is also assessed. When enlisted soldiers are asked the general question of whether racist groups operate in their community, less than one in three replied in the affirmative. EO staff members, on the other hand, reported in significantly larger numbers that this kind of organization, especially ones open only to whites, do operate in the community.

Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to White soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1060)	(N=1442)	(N=236)	(N=76)	
29%	14%	17%	43%	Yes.
71	86	83	57	No.

Do you personally know any White soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1056)	(N=1442)	(N=235)	(N=76)	
22%	14%	17%	28%	Yes.
78	86	83	72	No.

Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to minority soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1059)	(N=1439)	(N=236)	(N=76)	
14%	22%	19%	9%	Yes.
86	78	81	91	No.

Do you personally know any minority soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff	
Black	White	Other		
(N=1053)	(N=1439)	(N=237)	(N=76)	
13%	18%	16%	8%	Yes.
87	82	84	92	No.



When asked about the operation of specific racist organizations in the community, soldiers tend to respond in the same pattern. EO personnel, however, report in much lower percentage than in response to the more general question that the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) operates in the community. There are, however, important differences between communities in the perceptions of EO personnel with respect to this item.

**The Ku Klux Klan is active in this Army community**

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff (N=76)	
Black (N=1024)	White (N=1407)	Others (N=225)		
33%	14%	19%	22%	Strongly agree/agree
39	31	37	24	Neither agree nor disagree
28	54	44	53	Disagree/strongly disagree

There are organized groups of minority soldiers in this community whose main purpose is to fight against white soldiers.

Junior Enlisted			
Black (N=1038)	White (N=1423)	Others (N=230)	
13%	20%	17%	Strongly agree/agree
34	34	36	Neither agree nor disagree
53	46	48	Disagree/strongly disagree

Army leaders display perceptions quite similar to those of their same-race enlisted counterparts regarding perceptions about racist organizations which might operate in the community.

### **Cross-Racial Helping and Association**

This is one aspect of the racial climate in which positive changes seem to have occurred across the year. Significantly larger percentages of soldiers from all groups reported the frequent occurrence of *positive interracial behavior* in this study than did so in the previous one. In 1977 more than 67 percent of each group reported that such behavior occurred seldom or never, but by 1978, this figure was down to less than 50 percent.

Again, the perceptions of non-black minorities reflected the largest change in the direction of greater positive interaction occurring in 1978 than in 1977.

Go out of their way to help each other.

1977 Junior Enlisted			1978 Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	Black	White	Other	
(N=120)	(N=406)	(N=49)	(N=1065)	(N=1451)	(N=234)	
9%	7%	6%	14%	18%	20%	Very often/often
22	27	20	36	39	36	Sometimes
64	66	74	50	43	44	Seldom/never

Go to civilian restaurants together.

1977 Junior Enlisted			1978 Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	Black	White	Other	
(N=271)	(N=661)	(N=74)	(N=1066)	(N=1446)	(N=237)	
19%	25%	34%	17%	21%	20%	Very often/often
42	46	39	42	44	48	Sometimes
39	29	27	41	35	32	Seldom/never

Go to Army clubs together.

1977 Junior Enlisted			1978 Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	Black	White	Other	
(N=276)	(N=660)	(N=75)	(N=1069)	(N=1444)	(N=235)	
24%	29%	29%	23%	23%	26%	Very often/often
39	45	44	38	40	40	Sometimes
37	26	27	39	37	34	Seldom/never

### General Racial Attitudes

A final consideration is the general nature of attitudes regarding race and race relations. The findings from this study show the same patterns of difference by race in almost all perceptions and attitudes that were found in the 1976-77 study. Each group considers the same objective reality and draws completely different conclusions about that reality.

Many whites report that they are being forced to forego their rightly deserved rewards in several areas so that minority soldiers may receive them. Blacks and non-black minorities believe it is they who are still the victims of unfair and arbitrary discrimination. Minority soldiers also believe that whites have very negative perceptions about them as people and also about what non-whites want in the way of equality. The following items demonstrate some of this attitudinal dichotomy.

White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1045)	(N=1428)	(N=231)	
15%	37%	16%	Strongly agree/agree
30	32	45	Neither agree nor disagree
55	32	39	Disagree/strongly disagree

Non-Whites have had to become "militant" in order to have their complaints taken seriously.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1051)	(N=1432)	(N=230)	
49%	17%	37%	Strongly agree/agree
27	24	26	Neither agree nor disagree
24	59	37	Disagree/strongly disagree

The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1032)	(N=1420)	(N=228)	
36%	44%	40%	Strongly agree/agree
34	33	33	Neither agree nor disagree
30	23	27	Disagree/strongly disagree

Most Whites in the Army don't want racial minorities to be treated equally.

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1014)	(N=1413)	(N=227)	
43%	14%	28%	Strongly agree/agree
36	30	39	Neither agree nor disagree
21	56	33	Disagree/strongly disagree

There is almost no change in responses to this question compared to 1977.

One other fact apparent from the above items is that relatively few enlisted people believe the Army is actually committed to a policy of equal opportunity despite all the efforts that have been made to emphasize that commitment. Less than half the members of each group report that they believe the Army is committed.

The responses of Army leaders and EO staff personnel to the issue of the Army's support for EO are especially critical. It is these persons who must make the day-to-day decisions which implement policy. Unless they are convinced of the Army's commitment, it is doubtful that they would vigorously pursue the goals of the program.

The data show that, although there are differences by race in the perceptions of leaders, significantly more than half believe the Army is committed to the principles of equal opportunity. On the other hand, less than half of the EO staff personnel believe that the Army truly supports the principles of EO.

The Army is firmly committed to the principles of equal opportunity.

Leaders		EO Staff	
Black	White		
(N=106)	(N=433)	(N=76)	
64%	80%	47%	Agree/strongly agree
21	12	26	Neither agree nor disagree
15	8	26	Disagree/strongly disagree

### Summary and Conclusions

The data presented here show the racial climate in USAREUR to be one full of complexities and contradictions, and which is perceived differently according to where the respondent is located in the chain of responsibility for EO. This means, therefore, that the responses of any group cannot be considered in isolation; instead, the responses of all groups must be considered together in order to gain an appreciation of what is the racial climate in USAREUR.

Generally, it must be concluded that in USAREUR the racial climate is not good. There is some tendency for negative perceptions to be increasing. Very few soldiers believe that equal treatment is afforded to the members of all races. Depending upon the race of the respondent, non-whites are perceived to receive either especially favorable treatment or worse treatment than whites. Fewer than half of all soldiers believe that non-whites are treated the same as whites.

A pattern of differences by race in most perceptions is readily apparent. The world in which whites and non-whites live, while objectively the same, is subjectively very different. As the percentage of non-whites who believe that things are improving increases, more whites are beginning to think that things are not improving. So long as that situation lasts in USAREUR, little or no change in the direction of improving the racial climate can be expected.

The improvement noticed in the frequency of cross-racial association may be more apparent than real. Soldiers may indeed go to service and on-post clubs together more often; however, this fact may not mean that race relations are improving. Rather, it may mean that because of the lowered buying power of the U.S. dollar against the Duetsch Mark, American soldiers, particularly lower ranking enlisted persons are financially unable to afford to patronize civilian off-post facilities and establishments. Therefore, the on-post facilities become more attractive to soldiers in their off-duty time, and they begin to go there more frequently than in the past. These facilities are open to all service members, and it may appear that people are there together even when, in reality, they are present in racially separate subgroups.

Although the reported frequency of overt racial conflict and harassment is not high, such forms of conflict do occur, and their reported frequency is double what it was in 1977.

The "racial *détente*," described in earlier studies is still very much a part of USAREUR's racial climate. The evidence presented here suggests that there are distinct racial camps regarding the perceptions of soldiers about conditions in USAREUR. One group is made up of whites who either see little racial discrimination or who believe that

they are the victims of racial discrimination. The other group is composed of blacks and other non-whites who continue to see themselves as the victims of prejudice and discrimination in almost every aspect of their lives.

The fact that many whites think they are the victims of racial discrimination is one other problem in USAREUR. Though it is difficult to know the exact impact of this perception on the racial situation, it cannot be positive. This perception can only increase whatever racial tensions already exist.

One critical aspect in the perceptions of the various groups is that leaders are so often so very different from the two other respondent groups in their perceptions of what is happening in regard to racial climate. Many tend to believe that little is wrong and most believe that even if things are bad, they are getting better. The responses of many leaders seem automatic: "Things in the Army are good." These perceptions may be more reflective of their commitment to the Army and its programs than an objective evaluation of the situation. If leaders actually are so different in their perceptions about the racial climate, consideration must be given to what exactly their actions have been in this area. Care must be taken to insure that leaders do not take a "head in the sand" approach to the perception of EO matters.

### **CHAPTER III**

## **PERCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

To examine perceptions of institutional discrimination in USAREUR, survey questions were asked with a focus on what happens to people with regard to personnel decisions made routinely in a number of areas of Army life. The areas that are discussed below include: opportunities for career development; the enforcement of regulations governing conduct and the administration of punishment and disciplinary action; and daily life during duty hours in the unit.

### **Career Development Opportunities**

A number of questions were asked of both junior enlisted personnel and unit leaders concerning their perceptions of the equality of the treatment the Army affords in the areas of opportunities for promotion and career-enhancing training. It is important to compare how these two sets of perceptions about career development differ inasmuch as junior enlisted personnel depend on their leaders for career development opportunities.

With regard to promotion potential, the vast majority of all groups indicate that they think qualifications for promotion are about equally distributed among all racial groups. When asked about the likelihood of promotion, however, there are obvious and systematic differences in perception, corresponding with the trend that has been found repeatedly in data such as these. While leaders, followed closely by white junior enlisted personnel, are the groups most likely to feel that promotions are granted without regard to race, most black junior enlisted personnel take a sharply differing point of view in stating that whites have a higher probability of being promoted, despite equal qualifications. Non-black minorities and black leaders fall about midway between these two extremes.

As a general rule, which racial group is *best qualified for promotion* to higher enlisted grades in the Army?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1054)	(N=1411)	(N=226)	(N=104)	(N=435)	
67%	77%	71%	86%	85%	
26	20	22	12	14	On the average, soldiers of all races are qualified.
7	4	7	2	1	On the average, White soldiers are best qualified.
					On the average, non-White soldiers are best qualified.

As a general rule, which racial group has the *best chance for promotion* to higher enlisted grades?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1048)	(N=1406)	(N=228)	(N=103)	(N=429)	
33%	68%	54%	52%	79%	
63	10	33	46	11	Chances are equal for all races.
3	19	9	3	10	Whites have the best chance.
2	4	3	0	0	Blacks have the best chance.
					Other minorities have the best chance.

Within the EO staff sample there is a split along racial lines on the question of promotions, with minority group staff members being more likely than whites to feel that promotion to a higher grade is strongly associated with skin color.

In this community, promotion to a higher grade is highly correlated with race.

EO Staff		
Minority (N=43)	Majority (N=22)	
42%	27%	Strongly agree/agree
28	41	Neither agree nor disagree
30	32	Disagree/strongly disagree

Concerning opportunities for training, these same groups answer in a way remarkably similar to their responses regarding promotion opportunities. The same race and rank differences are apparent here.



Whites have a better chance than non-Whites to get the best training opportunities.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1034)	(N=1422)	(N=229)	(N=105)	(N=431)	
46%	9%	26%	22%	6%	Strongly agree/agree
31	23	31	25	9	Neither agree nor disagree
24	68	44	53	85	Disagree/strongly disagree

A separate measure of the extent to which minority soldiers, especially black junior enlisted personnel, see themselves as being victims of discrimination is graphically displayed in the number who report personal experiences with institutional discrimination in the Army.

In the past two years, have you personally, been a victim of *race* discrimination in any of the following areas of Army life?

[Percent answering "yes"]

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1040)	(N=1427)	(N=231)	
51%	31%	45%	Your duty assignment in areas such as details, opportunities for training, promotions, etc.

Numerous survey questions produce results which bear out this same pattern of perceptions.

### Disciplinary Action and Enforcement of Regulations

Perceptions of bias in favorable personnel actions have been discussed above. What about bias in the area of negative or punitive actions, and the enforcement of regulations? Data presented below indicate that about equal (and rather large) proportions of black and white soldiers each see members of the other race as getting away without punishment when rules are broken. Neither group sees itself as escaping discipline under similar circumstances. This is an area where "mirror image" perceptions have been prevalent in the past and continue to be prominent. Leaders, on the other hand, very seldom see this kind of favoritism

as occurring in their units, although the tendency is present here also for more white leaders to say that non-whites escape punishment, and for more black leaders to say that whites are let off more often.

Non-Whites get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1042)	(N=1430)	(N=228)	(N=105)	(N=434)	
11%	44%	23%	8%	15%	Strongly agree/agree
15	23	27	15	16	Neither agree nor disagree
74	33	49	77	69	Disagree/strongly disagree

In my unit, Whites get away with breaking rules that non-Whites are punished for.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1025)	(N=1413)	(N=227)	(N=105)	(N=433)	
49%	6%	23%	13%	1%	Strongly agree/agree
27	15	29	27	4	Neither agree nor disagree
24	79	48	60	95	Disagree/strongly disagree

Two additional questions, asked only of EO staff members, indicate that a slight majority of this group do see bias in the administration of the UCMJ and the use of less-than-honorable discharges, although about one of every four EO staff members does not agree that bias of this type is present.

In this community, race is not a factor in UCMJ treatment.

EO Staff (N=76)	
24%	Strongly agree/agree
17	Neither agree nor disagree
59	Disagree/strongly disagree

In this community, a non-White soldier is more likely to receive a less-than-honorable discharge than a White soldier.

EO Staff (N=76)	
54%	Strongly agree/agree
21	Neither agree nor disagree
25	Disagree/strongly disagree

Specifically with regard to policies and regulations concerning the Equal Opportunity Program, EO staffers, for the most part, feel that leaders do not do all they can in the way of enforcement. The leaders themselves generally disagree with this position, although there is the usual race difference among leaders on this point also. There is a surprisingly high degree of similarity among junior enlisted personnel here, with junior enlisted persons of all racial groups being split in their opinions. They are more likely to give officers than NCO's the benefit of the doubt, but there is very little consensus on these questions within this particular sample.

Most NCO's usually see to it that Race Relations policies and regulations are enforced.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		EO Staff	
Black (N=1053)	White (N=1437)	Other (N=230)	Black (N=105)	White (N=437)	(N=75)	
27%	39%	34%	55%	74%	13%	Strongly agree/agree
27	28	31	15	15	8	Neither agree nor disagree
45	33	35	30	11	79	Disagree/strongly disagree

Most officers usually see to it that EO training policies and regulations are enforced.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		EO Staff	
Black (N=1042)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=232)	Black (N=106)	White (N=432)	(N=76)	
29%	34%	27%	62%	85%	17%	Strongly agree/agree.
40	41	44	24	9	21	Neither agree nor disagree
31	25	29	14	6	62	Disagree/strongly disagree

### Daily Life in the Unit

A number of decisions get made every day by leaders at all levels within a company-size unit that have implications for the junior enlisted member. These are such routine occurrences that it is difficult to remember that they are the primary ingredient of the way junior enlisted personnel perceive their Army experience. Daily duty assignments and details are a typical example. From the data presented below it is clear that here, again, the familiar response patterns come through. Nearly half of black junior enlisted personnel tend to feel that minority soldiers get more than their share of undesirable details. White soldiers, in general, disagree with that assessment, as do leaders, by a sizeable majority.

Non-Whites get more than their share of dirty details.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1019)	(N=1407)	(N=225)	(N=105)	(N=433)	
48%	11%	32%	13%	4%	Strongly agree/agree
29	27	30	28	10	Neither agree nor disagree
23	62	38	59	86	Disagree/strongly disagree

In my unit, non-Whites get worse jobs and details than Whites.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1026)	(N=1420)	(N=229)	(N=104)	(N=431)	
40%	6%	23%	11%	2%	Strongly agree/agree
33	19	31	17	7	Neither agree nor disagree
27	75	45	72	91	Disagree/strongly disagree

The next set of data indicates a tendency for about one-third of black junior personnel, and fewer non-black minorities, to expect their overt expressions of racial pride to result in bad treatment from commanders. Almost half of black junior enlisted respondents feel that leaders will do what they can to keep a complaint of discrimination from proceeding through the chain of command, as called for by regulation. In both cases, most leaders disagree with this point of view; white leaders are much more likely to disagree than black leaders.

Any time a minority soldier acts like he's proud of his race, he can expect to get treated badly by his CO.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1025)	(N=1421)	(N=229)	(N=105)	(N=432)	
34%	8%	22%	12%	2%	Strongly agree/agree
35	20	33	19	6	Neither agree nor disagree
31	72	45	69	92	Disagree/strongly disagree

Many Army supervisor try to make it difficult for minority personnel to go through the chain of command to present a complaint of discrimination.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1045)	(N=1428)	(N=231)	(N=105)	(N=431)	
45%	14%	32%	21%	2%	Strongly agree/agree
32	27	33	23	10	Neither agree nor disagree
23	59	35	56	88	Disagree/strongly disagree

## Summary and Conclusions

It is quite clear that large numbers of minority soldiers, particularly black junior enlisted personnel, feel that institutional discrimination is a part of everyday life in the Army. White junior enlisted personnel do not agree, in general, and many say that any institutional discrimination that exists is "reverse discrimination" (see Chapter IV). These perceptions, and the vast perceptual differences between the races, have been seen in many past surveys concerning EO. The overall picture is slightly less favorable now than in the past.

White leaders, on the other hand, are almost unanimous in their denial that any form of institutional racial bias exists in their Army. Black leaders, while less favorable and less optimistic in their views of EO than white leaders, are not quite so thoroughly convinced of the fact that institutional discrimination is widespread in the Army as black junior personnel are.

In general, the majority perception of all the respondent groups can be pretty well predicted on the basis of race and rank. Black persons are more likely to be negative and pessimistic than are their white peers at any grade or rank. Leaders are more likely to defend the Army and Army leadership than are their followers, again without regard to race. Non-black minority personnel fall squarely in the middle, sometimes agreeing with whites, sometimes with blacks, but usually falling midway between these two groups.

Whatever the reality of the situation with regard to institutional racial discrimination, it is clear that each group has a typical stance, and that there is systematic disagreement among them. Anything that can be done in the way of education and training to reconcile these differences by bringing all groups into closer contact with the realities of the situation should help to improve not only interracial and cross-rank understanding and communication, but racial climate, in general, as well.

## CHAPTER IV

### PERCEPTIONS OF "REVERSE RACISM"

The term "reverse discrimination" has come increasingly into popular usage among white Americans over the past few years. The recent *Bakke* decision by the Supreme Court was often referred to as a test of "reverse discrimination." The term, as usually employed among white soldiers, refers to a form of institutional discrimination in which the Army is seen as using its power to provide minorities with arbitrary advantages over white soldiers. When viewed in this way, the term cannot be so easily brushed aside as sometimes had been done, in the past when the somewhat glib response was given that, "You have to have power to discriminate. Minorities don't have power. Therefore, there can be no such thing as "reverse discrimination."

Over the past six years the proportion of white soldiers who answer certain survey questions with "backlash" answers; i.e., those which express perceptions of discrimination against whites, has been *increasing* steadily. While the actual number or proportion of respondents who answer questions in this way varies considerably depending on the way the question is asked, the general trend has been constantly upward.

The question which consistently has received the highest proportion of "backlash" responses is described below. In 1972, the question was asked Army-wide comparing blacks and whites rather than whites and *non-whites*. At that time 30 percent of white soldiers answered that "blacks are treated better than whites in the Army." In 1974 this percentage was up to 35 percent. In 1977 (with "non-whites" substituted for "blacks") the percentage was 42 percent; and in 1978 it has increased again to 47 percent.

Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Black (N=1023)	White (N=1380)	Other (N=216)	
9%	47%	24%	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>better than Whites</i> in the Army.
27	46	42	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>exactly the same as Whites</i> in the Army.
64	7	34	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>worse than Whites</i> in the Army.

There are other questions which illustrate these perceptions of "reverse discrimination." They include the following:

[Percent answering "Strongly Agree" or "Agree"]

Black	White	Other
(N=1042)	(N=1430)	(N=228)
10%	44%	25%

Non-Whites get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.

Here we see that more than two of every five white enlisted respondents feel that non-whites get off easier than whites when they break rules. This percentage has remained constant since 1977. Another question with the same pattern:

[Percent Answering "Strongly Agree" or "Agree"]

Black	White	Other
(N=1045)	(N=1425)	(N=231)
15%	37%	16%

White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others.

The percentage of whites who agree with this statement has increased about five percent from 1977.

In addition, 31 percent of whites say they, personally have been discriminated against on the basis of race in assignments, details, chances for promotion, etc.; 24 percent say the Army's EO education program helps minorities get ahead at the expense of whites; 19 percent say that blacks have the best chance for promotion (even though 76 percent of whites say soldiers of all races are qualified, on the average); and 15 percent say the Army's EO education program has been "generally harmful" to whites.

White leaders, in general, see much less evidence of "reverse discrimination" than do white enlisted personnel, which is in line with leaders' general belief that the Army operates in a color-blind manner. EO staff members see virtually nothing to support a judgment that equally- or less-well-qualified minorities are given advantages over white soldiers.

The bulk of the evidence from the 1978 USAREUR survey shows that the growth of "white backlash" feelings, or perceptions of "reverse discrimination" which has

been reported in the past among white soldiers, continues. As many minority soldiers are just beginning to see some progress toward true equal opportunity, white soldiers are complaining, in growing numbers, about discrimination against whites. These two conflicting views of the same objective reality cannot help but be disruptive to interracial communication and to racial climate, in general. The topic of "reverse discrimination" is one which must be given adequate recognition as part of the education and training component of the USAREUR EO program if that program is to have any hope of maintaining its productivity and if it hopes not to lose its broad base of support.



## CHAPTER V

### ENLISTED PERCEPTIONS OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR FEMALE SOLDIERS

Several factors have contributed to the growing interest in and concern over the role of women in the U.S. Army over the past several years. The general trend in civilian society to reduce the extent to which certain jobs or classes of work are viewed as "men's work" or "women's work" has led to increasing willingness of women to accept the military as a career. This trend has been bolstered by the Army itself in that a variety of forces--the all-volunteer Army concept, the decline in qualified male applicants for military service, to name two important ones--have led to a relaxation of restrictions on women's participation in the Army. As a result, more and more women are entering the Army and are occupying increasing numbers of "non-traditional" personnel slots.

In some ways, the phenomena of race and sex discrimination are similar and in some ways quite different. In terms of institutional discrimination, the results are quite similar for women and for minorities in several areas, particularly with regard to advancement; in other areas, e.g., punishment and disciplinary action, race appears to be a far more important negative factor than gender. At the level of individual (personal) discrimination, there are also decided differences. Traditional stereotypes of minorities have included the "strong back and weak mind" concept. For women competing in a mostly-male world of work, lack of physical strength is a much-emphasized and a "weak back/strong mind" stereotype has often prevailed. These aspects of the female worker are compounded, of course, by considerations of sexual attraction, menstrual cycles, pregnancy, etc.

Several questions were included in the "Race Relations Education Program Survey" for junior enlisted personnel having to do with opportunities for and perceptions of women in the Army. There are several reasons why the responses to these questions must be interpreted with caution, however. A major factor is that the entire USAREUR sample included only 165 women, constituting just over six percent of the

sample. This compares favorably with the seven percent representation of women in USAREUR at that time.

The relative novelty of women in USAREUR may have caused respondents to answer questions about women in an exaggerated way, either pro or con. Finally, many of the units surveyed had no women assigned to them, and responses of men in those units to questions about women may differ in some systematic way from those of men who work closely with women in the Army at the present time. To summarize, then, we will report findings from this particular sample with the understanding that the reader should consider them as preliminary and subject to considerable possible error.

Let us look first at questions having to do with male-female interpersonal behaviors; i.e., the presence or absence of personal sex discrimination. Four questions deal with the behavior of men toward women.

How often do MEN in your company or work unit do each of the following kinds of things?

	Very Often/ Often	Sometimes	Seldom/ Never	
(Male N=2,484)	44%	22%	34%	Say that the Army is no place for a "nice girl."
(Female N=162)	65	23	12	
(Male N=2,488)	43	26	31	Say that women can't do most Army jobs as well as men.
(Female N=161)	73	20	7	
(Male N=2,474)	36	25	39	Say that women in the Army are always trying to get men to do their work for them.
(Female N = 161)	72	16	12	
(Male N=2,422)	26	24	50	Offer to do heavy or dirty jobs for women in the unit.
(Female N=162)	35	36	28	

We see here that women are much more likely than men to report that men make frequent derogatory remarks about female soldiers' characteristics, abilities and behavior. This male-female discrepancy in perception is undoubtedly attributable, in large part, to the fact that all female respondents came from units where both sexes are assigned, but not all male respondents have female co-workers, and have less occasion to make any remark, positive or negative, about women.

In contrast, men are somewhat more likely to attribute to women the kinds of behaviors described in the next two questions; i.e., women attempting to get special treatment or to get men to do heavy or dirty work for them.

How often do WOMEN in your company or work unit do each of the following kinds of things?

	Very Often/ Often	Sometimes	Seldom/ Never	
(Male N = 1,553)	33%	24%	43%	Try to get men to do their heavy or dirty work for them.
(Female N = 150)	24	38	38	
(Male N = 1,564)	42%	22%	36	Try to get special treatment just because they are women.
(Female (N = 150)	22	33	45	

There are some areas in which men and women in our sample are pretty much in agreement. For example, about half of both men and women agree that all MOS's should be open to enlisted women. Less than 40 percent of men and women agree that men and women doing the same job get equal respect from their supervisors. Less than one-third of either sex feel that the Army is "firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity," a rather poor reflection on the credibility of the Army's commitment.

In contrast, there is substantial disagreement between male and female respondents in their perceptions of institutional discrimination, as illustrated by the following items.

[Percent answering "Strongly Agree" or "Agree".]

Male (N = 2,458)	Female (N = 159)	
50%	30%	Women in the Army get as many opportunities for training, promotions, and awards as men do.

[Percent answering "Strongly Agree" or "Agree".]

Male (N = 2,467)	Female (N = 160)	
45%	24%	Equal opportunity exists right now for women in the Army.

Nowhere is the female respondent's dissatisfaction with "the system" more evident than in response to the questions shown below. Note that reports of sex discrimination in the civilian community are relatively low, as are reports of discrimination in exchange services. The contrast between those areas and reports of sex discrimination against women in such areas as details, assignments, and opportunities for training and advancement are so striking as to be overwhelming. Nearly two-thirds of female junior enlisted respondents report personal experiences with discrimination in these important areas of Army life.

In the past two years have you, personally, been a victim of sex discrimination in any of the following areas of Army life?

[Percent answering "Yes"]  
Male                  Female

6%	9%	Local civilian housing.
7	9	Local civilian services in stores, bars, banks, restaurants, etc.
5	9	Exchange services such as snack bar, barber or beauty shop, etc.
13	62	Your duty assignment, in areas such as details, opportunities for training, promotions, etc.

Leaders take a decidedly different view of EO for women in the Army as acting in an unbiased way in such areas as career-enhancing opportunities and equal respect for equal work. Non-commissioned officers are even more pronounced in these views than are commissioned officers. Most leaders (two-thirds of NCO's and three-fourths of officers), however, do not believe that all MOS's should be open to enlisted women.

The overall picture with regard to perceived sex discrimination within this particular sample of junior enlisted personnel is decidedly negative. Negative interpersonal behaviors concerning male and female soldiers on the job are reportedly widespread. There is perceived lack of respect for women who do comparable work to that done by men; there is a lack of faith in the Army's commitment to EO principles; and women feel they are discriminated against in large numbers in several important areas of Army life.

This is obviously an area deserving of closer scrutiny and careful study, with the objective of acting to change the conditions reported to exist with regard to women in the junior enlisted ranks. This is especially true in that many Army leaders, including most of the NCO's surveyed, do not share this perspective with the enlisted women in our sample.

## CHAPTER VI

### PERCEPTIONS OF EO TRAINING IN USAREUR

The perceptions of EO training in USAREUR by each of the respondent groups surveyed in 1978 and described in this chapter. Where data from the 1977 survey are available, comparisons are made. The following topic areas are covered:

- Army EO Training in General
- Community EO Training
- Unit EO Training
- Executive Seminars

#### Army EO Training

Most black and other minority enlisted personnel, and a plurality of the white enlisted respondents feel there is a definite need for a program of EO education. More than a third of the white enlisted soldiers, however, feel that the program is unnecessary; almost half of the black and other minority enlisted soldiers and white leaders disagree with that opinion. By a large margin, the group that was most persuaded that EO training programs are necessary is black leaders.

Which of the following comes *closest* to your opinion?

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1059)	(N=1432)	(N=234)	
65%	45%	57%	I believe that there is a definite need for a race relations education program in the Army.
24	34	31	I don't really know whether there is a real need or not.
11	21	12	I believe that there is insufficient need to have a race relations education program in the Army.

Most of the Army's race relations education programs are unnecessary.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1039)	(N=1426)	(N=231)	(N=105)	(N=429)	
24%	38%	25%	14%	29%	Strongly agree/agree
32	34	31	15	23	Neither agree nor disagree
44	28	44	71	48	Disagree/strongly disagree

Feelings concerning the importance of race relations training in the Army vary by race and rank. Most blacks and non-black minority enlisted soldiers feel that this training is important; whereas white soldiers are fairly evenly split on the question. Black and white leaders agree that the training is important, but about a third of white leaders feel it is not important.

This pattern of responses is again evident when considering benefits received from race relations training in the Army. Nearly half the black and a substantial proportion of non-black minority soldiers feel that *all* Army personnel will benefit from race relations education programs. White enlisted responses are nearly evenly divided with one-third agreeing and one-third disagreeing. Leaders tend to agree that the programs are beneficial. Similarly, concerning perceptions of the value of EO training for generating an understanding of people of other races, it is noted that black responses are nearly evenly divided while whites are generally more negative. Non-black minorities tend to be undecided on this issue. Black leaders give the most positive responses to this question. White leaders are more positive than black soldiers.

Compared to all the different kinds of training the Army conducts, how important do you think race relations training is?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1068)	(N=1445)	(N=235)	(N=105)	(N=433)	
34%	11%	21%	45%	15%	Extremely important
37	34	39	43	52	Important
20	33	26	9	27	Not very important.
9	21	14	4	6	Not important at all.

In the long run, everybody in the Army will benefit from race relations and equal opportunity programs.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1088)	(N=1419)	(N=227)	(N=105)	(N=428)	
48%	33%	40%	76%	61%	Strongly agree/agree
32	35	39	12	23	Neither agree nor disagree
20	32	22	11	16	Disagree/strongly disagree

I understand people of other races better since I've taken part in race relations education programs.

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1028)	(N=1417)	(N=229)	(N=105)	(N=433)	
34%	21%	24%	50%	44%	Strongly agree/agree
36	39	43	27	25	Neither agree nor disagree
30	40	33	22	31	Disagree/strongly disagree

Finally, there are differences in perceptions about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army. Nearly one-half of the blacks and non-black minority soldiers feel that this training is somewhat effective in reducing tensions; whereas, nearly one-half of the white soldiers feel that it is not effective at all. The vast majority of leaders perceive the training as being at least somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.

In general, what is *your* opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1068)	(N=1448)	(N=235)	(N=105)	(N=432)	
11%	4%	8%	15%	9%	Very effective in reducing racial tensions.
45	38	41	66	62	Somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.
33	45	39	17	26	Not effective at all in reducing racial tensions.
12	14	12	2	3	No opinion.

### Community Training

Three-fourths or more of each respondent group in the enlisted sample indicate that they have received the community-level orientation seminar for new arrivals. It is important to note that the proportion of each group who report attending such an orientation is considerably higher in 1978 than in 1977.

When you first arrived in USAREUR, were you given a 12-hour (18-hour) orientation seminar in race relations for new arrivals?

	Junior Enlisted Total Sample (N=1994)		Percent answering YES
	1977	1978	
Black	68%	77%	
White	69	81	
Other	67	75	

It appears, however, that the overall quality of the community race relations program is not high. A majority of each respondent group of the enlisted sample has only moderately positive to neutral feelings about the general effectiveness of the program. Most EO staff members, on the other hand, rate the program as at least somewhat effective. Considerable proportions of the soldiers of all races feel strongly that race relations education programs in the community are just for show, while leaders tend not to share that view. Perhaps these feelings are precipitated by different perceptions of command support. A plurality of each group of the soldiers feels that there is only fair command support for the race relations education program, but most leaders, black and white, perceive command support as being much higher. EO staff responses fell in between those of the leaders and of the soldiers.

In general, this *community's* race relations education program is:

Junior Enlisted			EO Staff		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1064)	(N=1438)	(N=235)	(N=43)	(N=22)	
8%	2%	8%	14%	18%	very effective.
42	29	33	54	55	somewhat effective.
31	41	34	19	14	neither effective nor ineffective.
11	13	12	9	9	somewhat effective.
9	15	13	5	5	very ineffective.

Race relations education programs in this community are mostly just for show.

Junior Enlisted			Leader		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1047)	(N=1432)	(N=230)	(N=106)	(N=432)	
44%	52%	46%	25%	25%	Strongly agree/agree
27	29	28	24	23	Neither agree nor disagree
29	19	26	52	52	Disagree/strongly disagree



What kind of command support does the race relations education program receive at this community?

Junior Enlisted			Leader		EO Staff		
Black (N=1062)	White (N=1413)	Other (N=133)	Black (N=104)	White (N=432)	Black (N=43)	White (N=21)	
8%	12%	12%	36%	35%	12%	14%	Excellent
30	31	30	32	45	33	24	Good
40	38	34	26	16	33	33	Fair
13	12	16	5	3	19	19	Poor
7	7	.8	2	1	5	10	Very poor.

It should be noted that although the response distribution was generally the same for all groups in 1977, there was some tendency for whites and non-black minorities to perceive less command support for the program in 1978.

### Unit Training

A plurality of enlisted respondents do not know how many seminars have been held in their company. In those units where training is occurring, approximately one-third of each enlisted respondent group has attended at least one session, but the proportion of whites who have not attended any sessions is larger than for minorities. Attendance appears to be down considerably for whites from 1977 levels, down slightly for non-black minorities, and up slightly for black soldiers. The proportion of leaders who report having attended one or more seminars is higher than that of the junior soldiers. Most soldiers agree that company commanders have led at least one session in the previous seven-month period.

How many race relations education seminars have been held in your company since 1 January 1978?

Junior Enlisted			
Black (N=1058)	White (N=1429)	Other (N=235)	
19%	17%	22%	One
10	9	9	Two
7	5	6	Three
8	7	7	Four or more
32	39	31	Don't know
26	23	24	None

How many of the race relations education seminars held in your company since 1 January 1978, did you personally attend?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black (N=779)	White (N=1098)	Other (N=1781)	Black (N=88)	White (N=335)	
34%	31%	37%	23%	21%	One
14	12	15	19	26	Two
6	5	6	15	11	Three
6	4	5	18	15	Four or more
13	11	11	3	5	Don't know
27	37	28	22	21	None

Did the company commander lead any of the race relations classes held in your company since 1 January 1978?

Junior Enlisted			
Black (N=566)	White (N=674)	Other (N=127)	
56%	63%	69%	Yes
43	37	31	No

There are mixed feelings between respondent groups concerning the quality of material covered in unit race relations classes. Most black junior soldiers feel that this material is interesting, but most white and non-black minority junior enlisted soldiers feel less so. It is important to note that the proportion of whites who feel that this material lacks interest is considerably larger than any of the other respondent groups. Most black and white leaders' ratings of interest are much higher than other groups.

In general, how interesting was the material covered in the unit race relations classes you have attended?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black (N=583)	White (N=692)	Other (N=126)	Black (N=71)	White (N=266)	
22%	6%	15%	41%	17%	Very interesting
53	45	56	48	61	Somewhat interesting
25	49	29	11	22	Not interesting

There are differences of opinion concerning the general value of company-level race relations education classes. Almost half of the minority junior enlisted soldiers feel that company-level classes are *not* a waste of time. Almost as many white junior enlisted

soldiers feel that they *are* a waste of time. More than half of the junior enlisted soldiers of all races perceive that the company-level race relations education program has produced no change in the nature of interracial relations in the unit. Balanced against this is that over one-third thought they did help and less than one in ten thought they were harmful.

Company-level race relations classes are a waste of time.

Junior Enlisted			Leader		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=1018)	(N=1416)	(N=227)	(N=106)	(N=435)	
26%	39%	30%	13%	22%	Strongly agree/agree
28	29	26	22	20	Neither agree nor disagree
47	32	44	65	59	Disagree/strongly disagree

Do you feel that the race relations education program has helped people of different races get along better with each other in your company?

Junior Enlisted			
Black	White	Other	
(N=1053)	(N=1436)	(N=237)	
10%	4%	9%	People get along much better.
33	27	33	People get along a little better.
53	60	47	No change.
5	9	11	Relations are worse as a result of the program.

The next two items show differences of opinion concerning the effect of unit training on individual interest and motivation. The tendency is for black soldiers to be much more positive than white soldiers. Non-black minority soldiers are pretty evenly split on the issue. Leaders, both black and white, tend to indicate that their interest in improving race relations increased because of the unit classes. Similarly, one-half or more of the black and non-black minority soldiers feel that attendance at unit training sessions has helped them know how to work to improve race relations in the unit; whereas, white soldiers were somewhat less positive. The leaders are again much more positive in their response to this item than are the junior enlisted soldiers.

Did the unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, increase your interest in improving race relations?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=483)	(N=689)	(N=126)	(N=71)	(N=265)	
12%	5%	11%	27%	11%	Yes, a lot.
43	33	37	45	51	Yes, somewhat.
39	51	37	25	32	No, not at all.
7	11	15	3	6	It decreased my interest.

Have unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, helped you know how you can work to improve race relations in your unit?

Junior Enlisted			Leaders		
Black	White	Other	Black	White	
(N=587)	(N=690)	(N=129)	(N=70)	(N=266)	
13%	6%	12%	23%	9%	A great deal
50	46	51	54	63	Somewhat
37	49	37	23	27	Not at all.

### Executive Seminar

Only leaders were asked about the Executive Seminars as they are the only ones required to attend. Only about half of each leader group have attended an executive seminar. Most leaders in both racial groups have positive expectations concerning the purpose to be served by executive seminars. Similarly, most leaders in both groups feel that these seminars were interesting for those who attend and substantial proportions of each group feel that it is a good idea to conduct these seminars.

Have you attended a three- to four-hour Executive Seminar on race relations?

Leaders		
Black	White	
(N=99)	(N=394)	
50%	55%	Yes
50	45	No

Do you think the Executive Seminars can serve a useful purpose?

Leaders		
Black	White	
(N=97)	(N=388)	
33%	19%	Definitely yes.
38	50	They may help.
5	8	Definitely no.
24	23	No opinion.

How interesting do you think the Executive Seminars are for those who attend?

Leaders		
Black	White	
(N=97)	(N=387)	
23%	13%	Very interesting.
39	41	Somewhat interesting.
5	14	Not interesting.
33	32	No opinion.

Do you think the holding of Executive Seminars is a good idea?

Leaders		
Black	White	
(N=98)	(N=388)	
68%	47%	Yes.
9	15	No.
22	37	No opinion.

### Summary and Conclusions

The data indicates that, generally, perceptions of EO training in USAREUR are dependent on the interaction of race and rank. That is, perceptions on a given topic area are a function of who you ask and what rank they are. It also appears that prominent differences between racial groups occurs to a much larger extent among junior enlisted personnel than among leaders.

For example, black junior enlisted personnel perceive a greater need for a race relations education program in the Army than do white enlisted personnel. These feelings were evident in 1977 and are still present in 1978. On the other hand, leaders and supervisors of both races agree on the necessity of these programs in the Army.

In addition, the black-white differences in perceptions among junior enlisted personnel concerning the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army are not evident in the leader and supervisor groups. Although the latter groups have only moderately positive to negative feelings on this issue, they *are* in agreement as to the overall value of this training.

Concerning perceptions of EO training in general, it is important to note that there *is* one common racial difference between the ranks. Most minority soldiers, both junior enlisted and leaders, place a higher level of importance on Army EO training than do white personnel. This is not the case with the EO staff, however, in that most EO staff members of both races feel strongly that EO training is as important as any other kind of training the Army conducts. Presumably, the intimate involvement of EO personnel in generating a commitment to EO principles and practices partially explains this difference from other military personnel.

All junior enlisted personnel indicate that the community-level orientation for new arrivals is fully operational. Higher attendance is reported in 1978 than was in 1977.

There are differences by rank when considering the general nature of community training. Leader and EO staff personnel of both races have more positive feelings about the overall effectiveness of the community race relations education program than do junior enlisted personnel. Perhaps these perceptual differences are precipitated by feelings about command support. Again, leader and EO staff personnel of both races have more positive estimations about the level of command support than do junior enlisted personnel.

Perhaps these rank differences are due in part to the different levels of responsibility between the groups. That is, leader and EO staff personnel are primarily responsible for the quality of the race relations education program. Junior enlisted personnel are the recipients of decisions made at higher levels. Leaders may indicate higher ratings for a low quality program so as not to reveal feelings of personal and professional inadequacy. Junior enlisted soldiers have no reservations about indicating negative perceptions concerning quality and support. These differences may be reduced by investigating the accuracy of the perceptions so as to ensure the legitimate satisfaction of personnel across the rank structure.

There are differences by rank and race when considering unit training. Leaders of both races have attended unit-level classes in larger proportions than white junior enlisted. In addition, attendance is down considerably for white enlisted from 1977 levels, whereas there is a slight upswing for black soldiers.

In addition, most leaders of both races have more positive perceptions concerning the effect of unit training on individual interest and motivation than do junior enlisted personnel. Most enlisted personnel, both black and non-black minorities, feel that their interest and motivation has been helped by these classes more so than do whites.

Finally, the material covered in these classes is only of moderate interest to leaders of both racial groups. Junior enlisted personnel of both races also evaluate EO training as only moderately interesting; however, there are a number of blacks with very positive feelings and a number of whites with very negative feelings. Moreover, the proportion of whites who have negative feelings is considerably larger than for blacks and non-black minorities.

Unit commanders are leading the unit-level seminars as required by regulations. The negative perceptions of soldiers participating in the seminars indicates a need to improve the training of the leaders.

The executive seminars appear to have been attended by only half the leaders. Although the majority of the leaders have positive feelings toward the seminars, a significant number express no opinion as to their value, purpose, and interest. These respondents may well be those who have not participated in the seminars.

In conclusion, the following areas of emphasis seem to be of greatest importance for possible revisions of subsequent EO training programs.

- Generate a greater awareness of the value and importance of race relations training.
- Upgrade community race relations programs to reduce the perceptions of a low quality program.
- Upgrade unit training, especially in terms of the quality of material covered.

- Place more emphasis on the executive seminars so that leaders recognize their responsibilities and become more aware of EO problems.
- Establish a program to train leaders to lead better EO seminars. This may well be part of the executive seminars.



## CHAPTER VII

### SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

In the process of drawing together the survey findings for the three separate respondent groups, junior enlisted men and women, chain-of-command members and EO staff members, it is evident that there are major differences in perception among the groups, even within them. It is also readily apparent in comparing the present results with those of similar surveys in prior years that the character of these differences has not changed much over the past few years.

The two most prominent sets of perceptual differences have been highlighted many times in the past. White soldiers and minority soldiers, for the most part, see things in decidedly different ways, and senior personnel see things differently than do junior enlisted personnel. This is such a consistent finding that it can be stated that on any important EO issue where the comparison of perceptions is made, the ordering of perceptions is quite constant. In starting with pronounced perceptions of discrimination, both personal and institutional, and the belief that the Army is systematically biased against minority soldiers and proceeding to the opposite extreme where Army personnel policies, procedures, and numbers are seen as operating in an unbiased way, the groups are consistently ordered as follows:

- black junior enlisted;
- non-black minority enlisted;
- black leaders;
- white junior enlisted; and
- white leaders.

Within the remaining group, EO staff members, race and rank differences are usually minimal. This group, on the whole, tends to see things as minority soldiers do; i.e., they perceive that problems exist in the system. The largest difference within this group seems to be between primary- and additional-duty personnel, although the small numbers of each type in the sample preclude any generalizations on this point.

## Racial Climate

When perceptions of racial climate are examined, it is evident that the negative interracial behaviors far outweigh the positive ones in terms of frequency. Both minority and majority soldiers report relatively high frequencies of negative verbal behaviors—name-calling, insults, racist “jokes” and derogatory remarks—but minority soldiers are more likely to feel they are the targets of these actions than are whites. Non-verbal behaviors such as harassment and fights along racial lines are reported as occurring with rather high frequency by a relatively small proportion of enlisted personnel, perhaps indicating frequent involvement in such activities by a core group in each race, while most soldiers of all races are unaware of these more serious occurrences. The reported frequency of fights, although small, did double from 1977 to 1978. Equal opportunity staff members, on the average, report an even higher frequency of fights and harassment, such as interracial robberies, than do enlisted personnel themselves.

Reports of activities by organized racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan vary greatly by community, but some communities report a relatively high level of recruiting, public information, and other organization-oriented activities, as well as documented incidents of cross-burnings, etc. In at least three communities, EO staff members had what they considered to be hard evidence of KKK activities, although whatever organization existed maintained a low profile for the most part. There were scattered reports from enlisted personnel of anti-white organizations, but no hard evidence of their existence was presented.

Voluntary racial separation is still quite widespread and perhaps growing among soldiers in USAREUR, even during duty hours; this is a phenomenon that is seen as harmful to unit effectiveness by most soldiers and leaders. At the same time, the number of reported cross-racial positive interactions and helping behaviors is increasing. It is possible that both these phenomena, polarization and fraternization, are brought about by virtue of the tightening economic situation for soldiers in Germany. Perhaps because of the dollar's lessened buying power off post, soldiers of all races are spending more time on post, with some tending to draw more into their own group while others broaden their interracial contacts.

Overall, EO staff members rate the racial climate in the Army in the poor range, and report a serious decline in the quality of race relations as compared to the recent past in USAREUR. Enlisted soldiers, on the average, rate Army race relations as somewhere between fair and poor. White soldiers see this condition as stable, as do minorities on the average; but among those who perceive an improving racial climate there are far more minority soldiers than whites.

Leaders tend to be much more satisfied and optimistic about racial climate than are the junior enlisted personnel. White leaders are considerably more satisfied than are non-white leaders.

At an attitudinal level there is still a decided tendency for minorities to report that they feel that white soldiers hold negative views of the value and abilities of minority soldiers. Most whites deny having these feelings, but substantial numbers do admit to them.

The most severe evaluation of the racial climate in USAREUR comes from primary-duty EO staff members, most of whom seem to see a decided decline in race relations, perhaps beginning to approach the volatile level of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Many of this same group report that mission effectiveness is adversely affected by the low quality of race relations; both leaders and EO personnel at small unit level deny this, however.

Discrimination by German civilians, particularly those in personal services businesses, is reported as widespread and growing. This type of discrimination is directed primarily at non-white American soldiers, but also is reported as affecting white soldiers, non-German civilians, and even, to some extent, German soldiers. This can only be exacerbated by the declining buying power of the dollar, and surely is a complicating factor where relationships between white and non-white soldiers are concerned.

### **Institutional Discrimination**

Patterns of perception similar to those just described are evident when the frame of reference shifts from personal to institutional discrimination. Black junior enlisted, non-black minority enlisted, and black leaders express the feeling that there continues to be

a substantial amount of institutional discrimination inherent in the way the Army conducts its business; large numbers of them purport to have been victims of discrimination in important areas of Army life such as selection for assignments, promotions, training, etc.

White enlisted soldiers, for the most part, either see no evidence of discrimination whatsoever, or claim to be victims of "reverse discrimination." Somewhere between 30 and 45 percent of white soldiers express these "backlash" feelings, depending on the specific question asked.

White leaders tend to deny that any form of institutional discrimination occurs in their Army. In contrast, EO staff members tend to feel that institutional discrimination is, if anything, a more serious problem than individual bigotry and personal discrimination.

These differences in perception go to the very heart of institutional discrimination itself. Leaders are convinced that they make non-discriminatory decisions, and their intentions are undoubtedly to be totally egalitarian. Institutional discrimination is so subtle and insidious, however, as to be practically undetectable to the untrained person, except where an individual feels he or she has been victimized by it. The result is that junior enlisted personnel who are minority group members are sure they have been discriminated against but cannot prove it. Leaders, especially whites, feel that minority soldiers tend to use race discrimination as a crutch, because the leaders themselves are convinced they do not discriminate arbitrarily, although they also cannot prove it. Most junior enlisted personnel perhaps cannot comprehend the concept of institutional discrimination on an intellectual level because it is so subtle a process, and cannot emotionally identify with it; so they see any change in procedure as "giving in to the demands of minorities." EO staffers are convinced that institutional discrimination is operating consistently to the disadvantage of minorities, but cannot adequately communicate their message to leaders who are convinced of their own non-discriminatory behavior, who naturally become defensive when their actions are questioned, and who have little affection for the EO program to begin with.

The net result of these totally mis-matching perceptions can be nothing other than confusion and bad feelings among the various parties.

## The USAREUR Equal Opportunity Program

The community-level EO orientation program for new arrivals in USAREUR appears to be operating at a higher level of efficiency now than a year ago. More enlisted personnel now report having attended such a session than did so in 1977. Reports from EO staff members substantiate this perception, and they often attribute the improvement to increased command support coming from community commanders.

There is a perceived need for an effective EO education and training program among a majority of non-white enlisted personnel and a substantial plurality of white enlisted soldiers. Unfortunately, the present program does not seem to be having the desired effect. Attendance at unit seminars is nowhere near the level prescribed by regulation. The unit sessions that are conducted appear to be quite frequently conducted by unit commanders, with some use of trained EO personnel in addition. However, the content of the sessions is rated as of only moderate interest to minority soldiers and even less so to whites. And the perceived benefits of EO training in terms of producing improved race relations, and interest in and ability for improving unit racial climate are minimal. There appears to be considerable room for improvement in the EO unit training program.

Company-level commanders are seen, by EO staff, as taking a "head in the sand" approach in which absence of race riots equates to the conclusion that the Army has solved its EO problem. As a result, commanders are viewed as feeling that the EO program is outdated, unnecessary, and absolutely of no value to the individual commander.

Perceptions of command support among EO staff members vary according to the command echelon being referenced. There is little tangible evidence of support from HQ USAREUR EO staff as viewed from the installation level. Corps is viewed as too far removed to make a difference. Division or community support is usually given high ratings, but as each successive lower echelon is discussed, the level of command support dissipates until, at company level, it is reported to be virtually non-existent.

The lack of command emphasis on EO at company level is seen as a major problem by EO staff members, who feel that small unit commanders are not paying adequate

attention to unit EO training, to institutional discrimination, nor to appropriate utilization of EO staff personnel. In most communities there is a decided tendency among community- and brigade-level (primary duty) EO staff members to see deterioration over the past several years in the level of small unit command support for EO. This group also tends to see additional-duty EO personnel as naive, underqualified, and "the CO's man."

### **Equal Opportunity for Female Soldiers**

The number of women included in the survey is too small to allow for reliable generalization beyond this specific sample. Within the sample, however, we can say that there is a widespread view among female soldiers that women, in large numbers, are being denied their earned rewards in many key areas of Army life. They also report frequent verbal insults from male co-workers and other negative behaviors. Significant numbers of male soldiers acknowledge that such negative and discriminatory actions are commonplace.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the fact that a survey of the type reported here provides data only on the perceptions of various groups concerning their shared environment, and does not purport to assess objectively verifiable facts, what conclusions can be drawn? Most of the obvious conclusions are neither new nor surprising.

Black soldiers are much more likely to report that there is both personal and institutional discrimination against minorities in the Army than are white soldiers. Non-black minority soldiers' perceptions fall about midway between those of blacks and whites, on the average.

Officers and senior NCO's are better satisfied with the EO situation in the Army than are junior enlisted personnel. Black leaders are better satisfied with the Army's fairness than are black junior enlisted men and women, but less so than either white junior enlisted personnel or white leaders.

Primary duty EO staff members are perhaps the least satisfied and the least optimistic about both the present EO climate, personal and institutional, and the projected future of events.

White junior enlisted personnel in increasing numbers are criticizing the Army for practicing what they see as "reverse racism."

This entire set of perceptions can be explained, at one level, by the concept of "vested interest." Many junior-level minority soldiers feel a need to establish a stance which lets the Army know that they will not follow along in a docile manner with any "business as usual" or "white male club" method of operation. Leaders feel the need to defend themselves against what they see as unfair and unjustified allegations of discrimination. If institutional discrimination does occur, the individual leader feels, it is certainly not through any fault of his own. The EO staff member has the undesirable task of telling people things they don't want to hear, and in the process may be suspected of exaggerating

a relatively harmless situation, perhaps even accused of deliberately attempting to stir up an over-reaction simply to justify the Program's existence. And the junior white, who cannot sympathize with the feelings of the victim of discrimination nor with some academic definition of institutional discrimination he doesn't understand, feels victimized in his own way, and resents changes in the *status quo*, especially since they don't seem to work in his favor. A message from the Chief of Staff urging leaders to do all they can to reduce the imbalance in criminal justice statistics is translated, under these circumstances, to an official decree to "let blacks get away with things they ought to be hung for."

But this analysis does not solve the problem. Where does the objective truth fall in this tangle of mis-matching perceptions? There may be a "kernel of truth" in each group's point of view. The statistics tend to substantiate the perception that minority soldiers still lag behind their white contemporaries in terms of career-enhancing actions, while receiving disproportionate amounts of punitive treatment. Yet it is true that the cause of most institutional discrimination is not deliberate, intentional bigotry or racism by Army leaders, but inadvertent reliance by these decisionmakers on information that may be based on erroneous assumptions, blanket judgments, irrelevant factors—in short, on invalid stereotypes. Because this is inadvertent, the leader rightfully resents an intimation that he, as an individual, is viewed warily, perhaps avoided entirely. Unless that EO staff member can succeed in communicating his very complex message about a very subtle, yet ego-involving topic to an audience with a predisposition to disbelieve, he or she can very easily become type cast as a radical, a rabble-rouser, someone who "stirs up trouble that never existed before." When program staff are viewed in this way it is little wonder that command support for the program is low. And the white soldier, feeling that the EO program is a "minority program" with no tangible benefits for him, sees any change as working against him. In fact, it may make his position more difficult, not because minority soldiers are being given undeserved promotions and other rewards, but simply because it tends to take away what once would have been the white soldier's favored status and increases the competition for any advancement or reward.

What implications does all of this have for the USAREUR EO program? The set of factors described here argues for the use of several tactics, including:



- Increased efforts to educate leaders and decisionmakers at all levels as to how their behavior may perpetuate institutional discrimination, and as to how they can improve the quality of the decisions they make to insure non-discrimination.
- Periodic, pre-planned meetings between leaders and primary-duty EO staff members which are not crisis-oriented but which focus on positive EO actions that can be undertaken to prevent problems; at the same time, this approach will remove the stigma often attached to a visit from the EOSO, and can, in the long run, serve to strengthen the working relationship.
- Educational efforts aimed at the white male soldier to acquaint him with the advantages he receives from the EO program and to bring his fears and reservations about the program into the open for resolution.
- Increased effort on training EO personnel, especially additional-duty personnel, when and how to communicate with members of the chain of command as well as with unit members who have raised problems.
- Efforts by higher echelon commanders to educate lower echelon commanders as to the value to be gained from appropriate utilization of the EO staff and the type and amount of command support to be given the program.

Additional recommendations include:

- Upgrade training for leaders so that they recognize their responsibilities and become aware of EO problems.
- Increase efforts by community commanders to impress lower echelon leaders with the need to place higher priority on the EO program, especially in terms of the quantity and quality of unit EO training.
- Upgrade training for chain-of-command personnel so that they clearly recognize their responsibilities and become aware of the potential for discriminatory practices.
- Generate an awareness among all enlisted personnel of the value and importance of race relations training.

- Provide more visible command support to community race relations programs to reduce the perceptions of a low priority program.
- Increase utilization of trained RR/EO personnel in unit-level classes.
- Establish and enforce standards of behavior related to inter-racial interaction at small unit level.
- Increase effort toward reducing the occurrence of and the perceptions of the occurrence of institutional discrimination.
- Increase effort toward reducing the occurrence of and the perception of the occurrence of "reverse discrimination."
- Increase efforts to help leaders and supervisors to improve and demonstrate their ability to understand accurately another individual or social group.
- Increase support by top policymakers to ensure equality of treatment.

The reader should note that the bulk of these recommendations are directed at the Army's leaders, from those responsible for formulating policy at the highest levels, on down to those company-grade officers and NCO's who implement the policy where it most directly affects the junior enlisted Army member. Attention must be directed to the alleviation of racial tensions between majority and minority personnel at the E1 to E4 level, but that group cannot be held responsible for all the Army's EO problems. Only an active and informed leadership can affect institutional or personal discrimination and the perceptions Army members have of those phenomena, on a widespread basis.

The USAREUR command has clearly placed a high emphasis on RR/EO training and has repeatedly initiated real efforts to make it more effective. That these efforts achieve so little is testimony to the virulence and ubiquity of the basic problem and its stubborn resistance to change.

It is clear that at the highest level in USAREUR, the program has now, and has had, a high level of support and sustained commitment on the part of leadership. However,

as the program filters down through the chain of command, it tends to lose that characteristic because it is being implemented by personnel who, although they will follow directives, do not understand the nature of the program or perceive its importance to the accomplishment of their mission. At the unit level, where the program is implemented, it has tended to acquire a strong negative image. This is not likely to be overcome as long as those *responsible* for implementing the program share that image. To change that fact, the chain-of-command personnel must first be educated such that they understand and accept the goals of the program.

This, of course, is not easy. At the company level especially, where the commander is deluged with high-priority requirements that compete for his attention and time, the problem is how to get that commander to understand that his failure to carry out equal opportunity responsibilities can directly and adversely impact on his unit's ability to perform its mission and on the commander's ability to do his job. Only when commanders become convinced of that fact are they likely to attend to and carry out their equal opportunity responsibilities.

**APPENDIX A**  
**JUNIOR ENLISTED QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**DATA**

# JUNIOR ENLISTED QUESTIONNAIRE

## PART I

Please tell us the following things about yourself.

1. Age.

(N=2771)

15%	19 years or less.
33	20 - 21 years.
16	22 - 23 years.
24	24 - 29 years.
9	30 - 39 years.
5	40 years or over.

2. Sex.

(N=2770)

93%	Male.
6	Female.

3. Race.

(N=2770)

39%	Black
53	White
7	Neither Black nor White

4. Rank

(N=2771)

2%	E-1
9	E-2
20	E-3
39	E-4
19	E-5
9	E-6

5. Highest grade completed in school.

(N=2763)

3%	Less than 8th grade.
11	Some high school.
58	High school graduate or G.E.D.
26	Some college.
3	Some graduate work.
5	Advanced degree.

## PART II

1. How long have you been stationed in Europe?

Black (N=1068)	White (N=1450)	Other (N=236)	
1%	1%	2%	Less than 1 month
10	8	6	1 - 3 months
10	8	9	4 - 6 months
24	19	19	7 - 12 months
32	34	34	12 - 24 months
22	30	29	Over 24 months

2. When you first arrived in USAREUR, were you given a 12-hour orientation seminar in race relations for new arrivals?

Black (N=1068)	White (N=1451)	Other (N=235)	
77%	81%	75%	Yes.
19	15	20	No.
5	4	5	Don't remember.

3. Compared to all the different kinds of training the Army conducts, how important do you think race relations training is?

Black (N=1068)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=235)	
34%	12%	21%	Extremely important.
37	34	39	Important.
20	33	26	Not very important.
9	21	14	Not important at all.

4. In general, what is *your* opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?

Black (N=1068)	White (N=1448)	Other (N=235)	
11%	4%	8%	Very effective in reducing racial tensions.
45	38	41	Somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.
33	45	39	Not effective at all in reducing racial tensions.
12	14	12	No opinion.

5. In general, this *community's* race relations education program is:

Black (N=1064)	White (N=1438)	Other (N=235)	
8%	2%	8%	very effective.
42	29	33	somewhat effective.
31	41	34	neither effective nor ineffective.
11	13	12	somewhat ineffective.
7	15	13	very ineffective.

6. What kind of command support does the race relations education program receive at this community?

Black (N=1062)	White (N=1413)	Other (N=233)	
10%	12%	12%	Excellent
30	31	30	Good
40	38	34	Fair
13	12	16	Poor
7	7	8	Very poor

7. Which of the following comes *closest* to your opinion?

Black (N=1059)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=234)	
65%	45%	57%	I believe that there is a definite need for a race relations education program in the Army.
24	34	31	I don't really know whether there is a real need or not.
11	21	12	I believe that there is insufficient need to have a race relations education program in the Army.

8. What group within the Army do you think needs race relations training the most?

Black (N=905)	White (N=1272)	Other (N=198)	
31%	65%	48%	E1 - E4
19	12	18	E5 - E6
31	14	20	E7 - E9
12	4	8	O1 - O3
2	9	2	O4 - O6
5	4	4	O7 - O10

9. Is current training reaching this group?

Black (N=1036)	White (N=1391)	Other (N=227)	
40%	44%	40%	Yes
60	56	60	No

10. Do you think race relations should be mandatory or voluntary?

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1435)	Other (N=232)	
51%	37%	53%	Mandatory
49	63	47	Voluntary

11. How many hours of race relations training do you think a person should be required to have each year?

Black (N=1051)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=236)	
14%	36%	16%	None
13	15	16	1 - 3 hours
9	9	9	4 - 6 hours
4	4	5	7 - 9 hours
19	19	20	10 - 12 hours
3	2	3	13 - 15 hours
6	2	5	16 - 18 hours
31	14	26	19+ hours

12. How do you think most *minority* soldiers view the race relations education program?

Black (N=1057)	White (N=1416)	Other (N=235)	
31%	17%	34%	Helpful to the racial situation in the Army.
57	66	50	Neither helpful nor harmful.
12	16	17	Harmful to the racial situation.

13. How do you think most *white* soldiers view the race relations education program?

Black (N=1039)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=232)	
19%	12%	22%	Helpful to the racial situation in the Army.
59	66	58	Neither helpful nor harmful.
21	22	19	Harmful to the racial situation.

14. Do you feel that the race relations education program has helped people of different races get along better with each other in your company?

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1436)	Other (N=237)	
10%	4%	9%	People get along much better.
33	27	33	People get along a little better.
53	60	47	No change.
5	9	11	Relations are worse as a result of the program.



Do the following groups of people attend race relations classes at this community?

15. Junior Enlisted (E1 - E5)

Black (N=1010)	White (N=1422)	Other (N=229)	
79%	83%	77%	Yes.
5	4	6	No.
16	13	17	Don't know.

16. Senior Enlisted (E6 - E9)

Black (N=956)	White (N=1393)	Other (N=221)	
49%	53%	43%	Yes.
22	17	20	No.
30	31	38	Don't know.

17. Junior Officers (O1 - O3)

Black (N=940)	White (N=1387)	Other (N=221)	
35%	40%	37%	Yes.
22	15	15	No.
43	45	48	Don't know.

18. Senior Officers (O4 - O6)

Black (N=935)	White (N=1380)	Other (N=212)	
22%	23%	19%	Yes.
24	18	17	No.
53	59	63	Don't know.

19. How many race relations education seminars have been held in your company since 1 January 1978?

Black (N=1058)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=235)	
19%	17%	22%	One.
10	9	9	Two.
7	5	6	Three.
8	7	7	Four or more.
32	39	31	Don't know.
26	23	24	None.

20. How many of the race relations education seminars held in your company since 1 January 1978 did you personally attend?

Black (N=779)	White (N=1098)	Other (N=178)	
34%	31%	37%	One.
14	12	15	Two.
6	5	6	Three.
6	4	5	Four or more.
13	11	11	Don't know.
27	37	28	None.

21. On the average, how long were the unit race relations seminars you attended?

Black (N=573)	White (N=676)	Other (N=126)	
25%	23%	29%	Less than 1 hour
51	59	48	1 - 3 hours
8	6	8	3 - 6 hours
16	11	16	More than 6 hours

22. Did the company commander lead any of the race relations classes held in your company since 1 January 1978?

Black (N=566)	White (N=674)	Other (N=127)	
56%	63%	69%	Yes.
43	37	31	No.

23. Have trained race relations/equal opportunity personnel from outside your company conducted any of the seminars you have attended since 1 January 1978?

Black (N=586)	White (N=694)	Other (N=128)	
30%	28%	23%	Yes.
44	47	45	No.
27	25	32	Don't know.

24. In general, how interesting was the material covered in the unit race relations classes you have attended?

Black (N=583)	White (N=692)	Other (N=126)	
22%	6%	15%	Very interesting.
53	45	56	Somewhat interesting.
25	49	29	Not interesting.

25. Did the unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, increase your interest in improving race relations?

Black (N=583)	White (N=689)	Other (N=126)	
12%	5%	11%	Yes, a lot.
43	33	37	Yes, somewhat.
39	51	37	No, not at all.
7	11	15	It decreased my interest.

26. Have unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, helped you know how you can work to improve race relations in your unit?

Black (N=587)	White (N=690)	Other (N=129)	
13%	6%	12%	A great deal.
50	46	51	Somewhat.
37	49	37	Not at all.

### PART III

Please answer the following questions on the basis of *your experience* in the Army.

1. Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Black (N=1023)	White (N=1380)	Other (N=216)	
9%	47%	25%	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>better than Whites</i> in the Army.
27	46	42	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>exactly the same as Whites</i> in the Army.
64	7	34	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>worse than Whites</i> in the Army.

2. As a general rule, which racial group is *best qualified for promotion* to higher enlisted grades in the Army?

Black (N=1054)	White (N=1411)	Other (N=227)	
67%	77%	71%	On the average, soldiers of all races are qualified.
26	20	22	On the average, White soldiers are best qualified.
7	4	7	On the average, non-White soldiers are best qualified.

3. As a general rule, which racial group has the *best chance for promotion* to higher enlisted grades?

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1406)	Other (N=228)	
33%	68%	54%	Chances are equal for all races.
63	10	33	Whites have the best chance.
3	19	9	Blacks have the best chance.
2	4	3	Other minorities have the best chance.

4. Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=243)	
18%	15%	15%	In general, race relations in the Army are good.
51	52	49	In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
31	33	36	In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

5. Over the past year, race relations in the Army:

Black (N=1034)	White (N=1408)	Other (N=230)	
35%	20%	30%	have been getting better.
52	62	55	have not changed.
13	18	15	have been getting worse.

6. In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races in the same work unit avoid each other *during regular duty hours*?

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1433)	Other (N=230)	
7%	4%	6%	It is definitely good for the unit.
8	5	8	It is probably good for the unit.
27	24	25	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
23	29	21	It is probably bad for the unit.
35	37	40	It is definitely bad for the unit.

7. In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races avoid each other *in their off-duty time*?

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=231)	
8%	6%	7%	It is definitely good for the unit.
9	6	10	It is probably good for the unit.
41	43	33	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
18	22	18	It is probably bad for the unit.
24	23	33	It is definitely bad for the unit.

8. In your opinion, how much racial prejudice against non-White soldiers is there in the civilian community surrounding this community?

Black (N=1059)	White (N=1437)	Other (N=233)	
35%	18%	27%	A lot of prejudice.
37	34	41	Some prejudice.
12	25	16	Very little or no prejudice.
15	23	16	No opinion.

In your opinion, how helpful has the Army's race relations education program been to each of the following groups?

9. White males.

Black (N=1022)	White (N=1429)	Other (N=226)	
23%	16%	15%	Generally helpful.
33	50	44	Neither helpful nor harmful.
6	15	9	Generally harmful.
37	20	32	Don't know.

10. Blacks.

Black (N=1028)	White (N=1424)	Other (N=225)	
22%	21%	17%	Generally helpful.
49	41	39	Neither helpful nor harmful.
13	10	15	Generally harmful.
16	28	29	Don't know.

11. Latinos (including Mexican, Spanish, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.).

Black (N=1010)	White (N=1417)	Other (N=227)	
18%	18%	18%	Generally helpful.
33	40	41	Neither helpful nor harmful.
8	8	17	Generally harmful.
41	35	24	Don't know.

12. Other racial minorities (American Indians, Asian Americans, etc.).

Black (N=1013)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=225)	
16%	16%	14%	Generally helpful.
30	40	39	Neither helpful nor harmful.
7	7	12	Generally harmful.
47	38	35	Don't know.

13. Women.

Black (N=1014)	White (N=1418)	Other (N=225)	
28%	22%	26%	Generally helpful.
27	35	27	Neither helpful nor harmful.
7	9	8	Generally harmful.
38	34	39	Don't know.

In the next section, please read each statement. If you think it is *required* in an Army Regulation or Directive check the "Yes" box. If you think it is *not* an Army requirement, check the "no" box.

14. All local promotion/selection boards in commands where there are minority enlisted personnel must have at least one minority enlisted person as a voting member of the board.

Black (N=1033)	White (N=1405)	Other (N=231)	
67%	62%	65%	Yes.
33	38	35	No.

15. All soldiers who are eligible for and want housing off-post must report to the Housing Referral Office at their new station before they start to look for housing.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1434)	Other (N=231)	
77%	79%	79%	Yes.
23	21	20	No.

16. All officers are to be rated on their Officer Efficiency Reports (OER's) as to how well they support the equal opportunity program.

Black (N=1031)	White (N=1415)	Other (N=229)	
68%	69%	74%	Yes.
32	31	25	No.

17. All enlisted personnel who are supervisors are to be rated on their Enlisted Evaluation Reports (EER's) as to how well they support the equal opportunity program.

Black (N=1041)	White (N=1418)	Other (N=230)	
65%	63%	71%	Yes.
35	37	29	No.

18. Post commanders have the authority to declare bars, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation off-limits if their owners or managers discriminate on the basis of race and cannot be persuaded to change their policy.

Black (N=1049)	White (N=1434)	Other (N=231)	
79%	80%	82%	Yes.
21	20	17	No.

19. Community commanders have the authority to declare housing off-limits if the owner or manager discriminates on the basis of race and cannot be persuaded to change his policy.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=232)	
79%	80%	75%	Yes.
22	20	25	No.

20. All communities in Europe must have an equal opportunity or race relations officer.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1429)	Other (N=231)	
84%	84%	90%	Yes.
16	15	10	No.

21. All communities in Europe must have race relations seminars at the unit (company or larger) level at least once a month.

Black (N=1047)	White (N=1420)	Other (N=232)	
66%	46%	64%	Yes.
34	54	35	No.

22. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to White soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

Black (N=1060)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=236)	
29%	14%	17%	Yes.
71	86	84	No.

23. Do you personally know any white soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Black (N=1056)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=235)	
22%	14%	17%	Yes.
78	86	83	No.

24. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to minority soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

Black (N=1059)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=236)	
14%	22%	19%	Yes.
86	78	81	No.

25. Do you personally know any minority soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1437)	Other (N=237)	
13%	18%	16%	Yes.
87	82	84	No.



## PART IV

Please answer the following questions about your experiences with Army policies and programs.

Have you ever read or had explained to you Army regulations concerning any of the following:

1. community relations?

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=237)	
34%	33%	29%	Yes.
55	53	56	No.
12	15	15	Don't know.

2. complaint processing procedures?

Black (N=1023)	White (N=1436)	Other (N=233)	
38%	43%	37%	Yes.
52	44	49	No.
10	12	15	Don't know.

3. equal opportunity for military personnel in off-post housing?

Black (N=1034)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=234)	
39%	43%	35%	Yes.
51	46	51	No.
11	12	15	Don't know.

Since arriving at this community have you ever reviewed any of the following lists?

4. List of available open housing.

Black (N=1041)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=236)	
32%	36%	33%	Yes.
69	64	66	No.

5. List of off-limits housing.

Black (N=1030)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=233)	
31%	32%	32%	Yes.
69	68	68	No.

6. List of off-limits establishments (stores, bars, restaurants, etc.)

Black (N=1035)	White (N=1438)	Other (N=232)	
52%	60%	56%	Yes.
48	40	43	No.

In the past two years, have you personally, been a victim of *race* discrimination in any of the following areas of Army life?

7. Local civilian housing.

Black (N=1036)	White (N=1436)	Other (N=233)	
19%	7%	18%	Yes.
81	93	82	No.

8. Local civilian services in stores, bars, banks, restaurants, etc.

Black (N=1038)	White (N=1433)	Other (N=233)	
42%	18%	34%	Yes.
58	83	66	No.

9. Exchange services such as snack bar, barber or beauty shop, etc.

Black (N=1032)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=232)	
19%	9%	16%	Yes.
81	91	84	No.

10. Your duty assignment in areas such as details, opportunities for training, promotions, etc.

Black (N=1040)	White (N=1427)	Other (N=231)	
51%	31%	45%	Yes.
49	69	55	No.

In the past two years have you, personally, been a victim of *sex* discrimination in any of the following areas of Army life?

11. Local civilian housing.

Black (N=1047)	White (N=1436)	Other (N=235)	
8%	4%	6%	Yes.
92	96	94	No.

12. Local civilian services in stores, bars, banks, restaurants, etc.

Black (N=1032)	White (N=1433)	Other (N=234)	
11%	5%	7%	Yes.
89	95	93	No.

13. Exchange services such as snack bar, barber or beauty shop, etc.

Black (N=1029)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=234)	
7%	5%	6%	Yes.
93	95	94	No.

14. Your duty assignment, in areas such as details, opportunities for training, promotions, etc.

Black (N=1034)	White (N=1436)	Other (N=233)	
17%	15%	16%	Yes.
83	85	84	No.

Since you have been at this community, have you ever gone to any of the following people for help or advice on race-related matters?

15. Community EOSO Officer

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=232)	
7%	3%	9%	Yes.
93	97	91	No.

16. Brigade EOSO representative.

Black (N=1041)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=232)	
5%	2%	4%	Yes.
95	98	96	No.

17. Battalion EOSO representative.

Black (N=1045)	White (N=1440)	Other (N=232)	
10%	4%	7%	Yes.
90	96	93	No.

18. Company EOSO representative.

Black (N=1042)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=233)	
14%	6%	12%	Yes.
86	94	88	No.

19. Inspector General (IG).

Black (N=1042)	White (N=1440)	Other (N=231)	
10%	4%	8%	Yes.
90	96	92	No.

20. Chaplain.

Black (N=1044)	White (N=1441)	Other (N=232)	
10%	6%	10%	Yes.
90	94	90	No.

21. Your unit chain of command.

Black (N=1049)	White (N=1441)	Other (N=233)	
29%	19%	28%	Yes.
71	81	72	No.

The following questions describe situations and behaviors which might or might not happen in your company (or work unit). Read each statement and put an "X" mark inside the box that tells *how often* that situation occurs in your unit, if at all.

How often do WHITE personnel in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

22. Spend time with just Whites during off-duty hours.

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=235)	
73%	69%	65%	Very often/often.
18	24	22	Sometimes.
9	7	13	Seldom/never.

23. Show disrespect when talking to non-Whites.

Black (N=1060)	White (N=1447)	Other (N=235)	
34%	13%	29%	Very often/often.
35	33	34	Sometimes.
31	54	37	Seldom/never.

24. Complain to non-Whites about the Army's race relations programs.

Black (N=1054)	White (N=1440)	Other (N=233)	
17%	11%	22%	Very often/often.
23	23	23	Sometimes.
60	66	55	Seldom/never.

25. Get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all.

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=233)	
17%	7%	13%	Very often/often.
16	8	14	Sometimes.
67	84	73	Seldom/never.

26. Stick together while on the job.

Black (N=1062)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=235)	
54%	41%	42%	Very often/often.
26	26	27	Sometimes.
21	33	31	Seldom/never.

27. Tell racist jokes about non-Whites.

Black (N=1055)	White (N=1444)	Other (N=233)	
30%	26%	36%	Very often/often.
28	30	30	Sometimes.
42	44	34	Seldom/never.

28. Make insulting remarks about the hairstyles, speech, food and music preferences, etc., of non-Whites.

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1444)	Other (N=234)	
44%	33%	42%	Very often/often.
25	28	25	Sometimes.
31	39	33	Seldom/never.

29. Complain that most non-Whites can't do the job.

Black (N=1059)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=234)	
31%	23%	33%	Very often/often.
21	23	26	Sometimes.
48	54	42	Seldom/never.

30. Refer to Blacks as "nigger," "coon," etc.

Black (N=1060)	White (N=1442)	Other (N=233)	
34%	33%	35%	Very often/often.
22	25	23	Sometimes.
44	43	42	Seldom/never.

31. Raise objections when they hear racist jokes about minorities.

Black (N=1056)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=234)	
15%	9%	12%	Very often/often.
20	21	27	Sometimes.
65	69	62	Seldom/never.

32. Complain about discrimination against Whites in the Army.

Black (N=1059)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=233)	
21%	29%	25%	Very often/often.
23	30	27	Sometimes.
56	41	49	Seldom/never.

How often do NON-WHITE or MINORITY personnel in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

33. Spend time with just non-Whites during off-duty hours.

Black (N=1071)	White (N=1444)	Other (N=234)	
54%	65%	51%	Very often/often.
26	21	32	Sometimes.
20	14	17	Seldom/never.

34. Show disrespect when talking to Whites.

Black (N=1067)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=233)	
20%	35%	25%	Very often/often.
37	34	33	Sometimes.
42	31	42	Seldom/never.

35. Complain about the Army's race relations education programs.

Black (N=1064)	White (N=1434)	Other (N=231)	
23%	21%	26%	Very often/often.
24	26	26	Sometimes.
54	54	48	Seldom/never.

36. Get together in certain situations to harass or keep Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all.

Black (N=1065)	White (N=1445)	Other (N=234)	
11%	26%	17%	Very often/often.
17	21	21	Sometimes.
72	53	62	Seldom/never.

37. Stick together while on the job.

Black (N=1069)	White (N=1447)	Other (N=233)	
45%	55%	40%	Very often/often.
30	25	34	Sometimes.
25	21	26	Seldom/never.

38. Tell racist jokes about Whites.

Black (N=1066)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=233)	
19%	24%	24%	Very often/often.
29	29	32	Sometimes.
53	47	44	Seldom/never.

39. Make insulting remarks about the hairstyles, speech, food, and music preferences, etc., of Whites.

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=233)	
23%	27%	22%	Very often/often.
28	27	27	Sometimes.
49	46	52	Seldom/never.

40. Complain that most Whites can't do the job.

Black (N=1065)	White (N=1425)	Other (N=232)	
12%	16%	19%	Very often/often.
22	20	23	Sometimes.
67	64	58	Seldom/never.

41. Refer to Whites as "honky," "gringo," etc., or to other minorities by such names as "nigger," "spick," "slope," etc.

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1439)	Other (N=233)	
25%	37%	29%	Very often/often.
29	28	32	Sometimes.
47	35	39	Seldom/never.

42. Raise objections when they hear racist jokes about Whites.

Black (N=1067)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=232)	
9%	9%	10%	Very often/often.
22	14	23	Sometimes.
69	77	68	Seldom/never.

43. Complain about discrimination against non-Whites in the Army.

Black (N=1069)	White (N=1440)	Other (N=234)	
36%	42%	35%	Very often/often.
22	21	24	Sometimes.
42	37	42	Seldom/never.



How often do WHITES and NON-WHITES in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

44. Have heated arguments with each other over race-related issues like school busing.

Black (N=1061)	White (N=1443)	Other (N=233)	
13%	8%	12%	Very often/often
20	17	21	Sometimes.
67	75	67	Seldom/never.

45. Form groups and challenge each other to fights.

Black (N=1073)	White (N=1453)	Other (N=236)	
10%	9%	13%	Very often/often.
16	16	19	Sometimes.
75	75	68	Seldom/never.

46. Go out of their way to help each other.

Black (N=1065)	White (N=1451)	Other (N=234)	
14%	18%	20%	Very often/often.
36	39	36	Sometimes.
50	43	45	Seldom/never.

47. Go to civilian restaurants together.

Black (N=1066)	White (N=1446)	Other (N=237)	
17%	21%	20%	Very often/often.
42	44	48	Sometimes.
40	35	32	Seldom/never.

48. Sit together in the dining facilities at this community.

Black (N=1070)	White (N=1453)	Other (N=235)	
30%	34%	33%	Very often/often.
37	36	33	Sometimes.
34	30	34	Seldom/never.

49. Go to civilian bars together.

Black (N=1069)	White (N=1444)	Other (N=235)	
23%	23%	26%	Very often/often.
38	40	40	Sometimes.
39	37	34	Seldom/never.

50. Go to Army clubs together (Enlisted Club, NCO Club, Officers Club).

Black (N=1070)	White (N=1444)	Other (N=234)	
21%	24%	23%	Very often/often.
35	37	35	Sometimes.
44	39	42	Seldom/never.

51. Spend time together in the dayroom.

Black (N=1072)	White (N=1449)	Other (N=235)	
31%	30%	27%	Very often/often.
35	40	39	Sometimes.
34	30	34	Seldom/never.

52. Attend religious services together.

Black (N=1062)	White (N=1403)	Other (N=232)	
11%	11%	12%	Very often/often.
21	28	25	Sometimes.
68	61	63	Seldom/never.

53. Participate in athletic events together.

Black (N=1071)	White (N=1451)	Other (N=237)	
51%	57%	49%	Very often/often.
29	29	35	Sometimes.
19	14	16	Seldom/never.

How often do people of YOUR OWN RACE in your company (or work unit) do each of the following things?

54. Complain about better treatment being given to people of other races in the Army.

Black (N=1071)	White (N=1451)	Other (N=231)	
43%	26%	29%	Very often/often.
29	33	28	Sometimes.
29	41	44	Seldom/never.

55. Tell racist jokes about other races.

Black (N=1071)	White (N=1451)	Other (N=232)	
17%	24%	14%	Very often/often.
34	38	33	Sometimes.
49	38	53	Seldom/never.

56. Avoid doing things with people of *other races*.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1069)	(N=1451)	(N=229)	
17%	19%	13%	Very often/often.
30	32	26	Sometimes.
53	49	61	Seldom/never.

57. Talk to each other about the problem people of *other races* have in the Army.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1069)	(N=1446)	(N=232)	
24%	14%	26%	Very often/often
32	33	33	Sometimes.
44	54	41	Seldom/never.

58. Talk badly about people of other races.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1067)	(N=1448)	(N=231)	
18%	21%	13%	Very often/often.
27	34	24	Sometimes.
55	45	63	Seldom/never.

How often do MEN in your company or work unit do each of the following kinds of things?

59. Say that the Army is no place for a "nice girl."

Black	White	Other	
(N=1037)	(N=1408)	(N=225)	
42%	47%	48%	Very often/often.
23	23	15	Sometimes.
35	30	36	Seldom/never.

60. Say that women can't do most Army jobs as well as men.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1038)	(N=1409)	(N=226)	
41%	48%	42%	Very often/often.
25	25	29	Sometimes.
34	27	29	Seldom/never.

61. Say that women in the Army are always trying to get men to do their work for them.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1032)	(N=1403)	(N=224)	
33%	42%	41%	Very often/often.
24	24	22	Sometimes.
43	33	38	Seldom/never.

62. Offer to do heavy or dirty jobs for women in the unit.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1015)	(N=1371)	(N=221)	
24%	28%	26%	Very often/often.
23	27	25	Sometimes.
53	46	49	Seldom/never.

How often do WOMEN in your company or work unit do each of the following things?

63. Try to get men to do their heavy or dirty work for them.

Black	White	Other	
(N=725)	(N=852)	(N=143)	
30%	34%	34%	Very often/often
21	28	26	Sometimes.
48	38	41	Seldom/never.

64. Try to get special treatment just because they are women.

Black	White	Other	
(N=730)	(N=858)	(N=143)	
39%	41%	40%	Very often/often.
22	25	20	Sometimes.
40	34	41	Seldom/never.

## PART V

Put an "X" in the proper box to show how much you *agree* or *disagree* with each of the following statements.

1. White enlisted personnel and supervisors act as though minority soldiers have to "earn the right" to be treated equally.

Black (N=1052)	White (N=1438)	Other (N=231)	
59%	18%	44%	Strongly agree/agree.
22	24	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
19	58	31	Disagree/strongly disagree.

2. Most NCO's usually see to it that Race Relations policies and regulations are enforced.

Black (N=1053)	White (N=1437)	Other (N=230)	
27%	39%	34%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	28	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
45	33	35	Disagree/strongly disagree.

3. Non-Whites have had to become "militant" in order to have their complaints taken seriously.

Black (N=1051)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=230)	
49%	17%	37%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	24	26	Neither agree nor disagree.
24	59	37	Disagree/strongly disagree.

4. My supervisor is concerned about the personal problems of his subordinates.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=231)	
39%	51%	49%	Strongly agree/agree.
28	21	23	Neither agree nor disagree.
34	29	28	Disagree/strongly disagree.

5. All MOS's should be open to enlisted women.

Black (N=1054)	White (N=1434)	Other (N=229)	
51%	44%	45%	Strongly agree/agree.
18	13	20	Neither agree nor disagree.
32	43	35	Disagree/strongly disagree.

6. Members of my unit show up for work on time.

Black (N=1050)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=230)	
39%	44%	46%	Strongly agree/agree.
29	23	22	Neither agree nor disagree.
33	34	33	Disagree/strongly disagree.

7. Whites try to force their attitudes and ways upon minorities.

Black (N=1046)	White (N=1433)	Other (N=226)	
42%	9%	30%	Strongly agree/agree.
31	24	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
26	67	40	Disagree/strongly disagree.

8. My supervisor is technically competent to perform his duties.

Black (N=1037)	White (N=1426)	Other (N=227)	
53%	58%	57%	Strongly agree/agree.
26	20	22	Neither agree nor disagree.
21	22	21	Disagree/strongly disagree.

9. Whites assume that non-Whites commit any crime that occurs, such as thefts in living quarters.

Black (N=1043)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=228)	
52%	18%	38%	Strongly agree/agree.
28	28	37	Neither agree nor disagree.
20	54	25	Disagree/strongly disagree.

10. Whites do not show proper respect for Blacks with higher rank.

Black (N=1043)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=229)	
48%	13%	28%	Strongly agree/agree.
26	17	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
26	70	41	Disagree/strongly disagree.

11. Non-Whites get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.

Black (N=1042)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=228)	
10%	44%	25%	Strongly agree/agree.
16	23	27	Neither agree nor disagree.
74	33	49	Disagree/strongly disagree.

12. Members of my unit fail to work together as a team.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1050)	(N=1434)	(N=230)	
40%	36%	33%	Strongly agree/agree.
26	22	28	Neither agree nor disagree.
34	42	40	Disagree/strongly disagree.

13. Everybody in the Army should be *required* to attend company-level race relations classes.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1050)	(N=1432)	(N=229)	
67%	40%	56%	Strongly agree/agree.
17	23	22	Neither agree nor disagree.
16	37	21	Disagree/strongly disagree.

14. Most Whites in the Army seem to think that Blacks aren't very intelligent.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1029)	(N=1421)	(N=229)	
63%	34%	49%	Strongly agree/agree.
20	27	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
17	39	27	Disagree/strongly disagree.

15. My supervisor keeps his subordinates informed.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1035)	(N=1422)	(N=229)	
41%	46%	48%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	25	23	Neither agree nor disagree.
29	30	30	Disagree/strongly disagree.

16. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is active in this Army community.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1024)	(N=1407)	(N=225)	
33%	14%	19%	Strongly agree/agree.
39	31	37	Neither agree nor disagree.
28	54	44	Disagree/strongly disagree.

17. Company-level race relations classes are a waste of time.

Black	White	Other	
(N=1018)	(N=1416)	(N=227)	
26%	39%	30%	Strongly agree/agree.
28	29	26	Neither agree nor disagree.
47	32	44	Disagree/strongly disagree.

18. My supervisor keeps himself informed about the work that is being done by his subordinates.

Black (N=1021)	White (N=1414)	Other (N=228)	
49%	57%	54%	Strongly agree/agree.
25	21	22	Neither agree nor disagree.
26	22	25	Disagree/strongly disagree.

19. Many non-Whites have begun to act as if they are superior to Whites.

Black (N=1028)	White (N=1416)	Other (N=228)	
27%	56%	45%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	24	26	Neither agree nor disagree.
44	20	29	Disagree/strongly disagree.

20. The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.

Black (N=1032)	White (N=1420)	Other (N=228)	
37%	44%	40%	Strongly agree/agree.
34	33	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
30	24	27	Disagree/strongly disagree.

21. My supervisor communicates effectively with his subordinates.

Black (N=1027)	White (N=1413)	Other (N=229)	
40%	48%	47%	Strongly agree/agree.
31	26	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
30	26	29	Disagree/strongly disagree.

22. Members of my unit display disorderly conduct off post.

Black (N=1024)	White (N=1411)	Other (N=227)	
36%	43%	41%	Strongly agree/agree.
35	33	36	Neither agree nor disagree.
29	24	23	Disagree/strongly disagree.

23. Most Whites in the Army don't want racial minorities to be treated equally.

Black (N=1014)	White (N=1413)	Other (N=227)	
43%	14%	28%	Strongly agree/agree.
36	30	39	Neither agree nor disagree.
20	57	33	Disagree/strongly disagree.



24. Most minority group members haven't worked as hard to succeed as most Whites have.

Black (N=1031)	White (N=1419)	Other (N=226)	
26%	32%	23%	Strongly agree/agree.
20	28	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
55	40	52	Disagree/strongly disagree.

25. Members of my unit cooperate with each other.

Black (N=1026)	White (N=1419)	Other (N=227)	
32%	45%	41%	Strongly agree/agree.
37	29	37	Neither agree nor disagree.
30	26	22	Disagree/strongly disagree.

26. My supervisor is willing to make changes in ways of doing things.

Black (N=1022)	White (N=1408)	Other (N=228)	
44%	49%	45%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	23	28	Neither agree nor disagree.
30	28	27	Disagree/strongly disagree.

27. Non-Whites get more than their share of dirty details.

Black (N=1019)	White (N=1407)	Other (N=225)	
48%	11%	32%	Strongly agree/agree.
29	27	30	Neither agree nor disagree.
23	62	38	Disagree/strongly disagree.

28. In my unit, Whites get away with breaking rules that non-Whites are punished for.

Black (N=1023)	White (N=1413)	Other (N=227)	
49%	6%	23%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	15	30	Neither agree nor disagree.
24	79	48	Disagree/strongly disagree.

29. Women in the Army get as many opportunities for training, promotions, and awards as men do.

Black (N=1021)	White (N=1391)	Other (N=227)	
48%	50%	45%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	30	30	Neither agree nor disagree.
20	20	24	Disagree/strongly disagree.

30. Members of my unit sit around on duty hours doing nothing.

Black (N=1029)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=228)	
38%	54%	47%	Strongly agree/agree.
26	21	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
36	25	28	Disagree/strongly disagree.

31. The Army's race relations education program helps minorities get ahead at the expense of whites.

Black (N=1023)	White (N=1416)	Other (N=228)	
12%	24%	14%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	38	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
57	37	54	Disagree/strongly disagree.

32. I understand people of other races better since I've taken part in race relations education programs.

Black (N=1028)	White (N=1417)	Other (N=229)	
34%	21%	24%	Strongly agree/agree.
36	39	43	Neither agree nor disagree.
30	40	33	Disagree/strongly disagree.

33. A Black in the Army must do more than the average White to make the grade.

Black (N=1031)	White (N=1422)	Other (N=229)	
63%	7%	21%	Strongly agree/agree.
21	17	27	Neither agree nor disagree.
16	76	52	Disagree/strongly disagree.

34. Members of my unit keep living and working areas in a clean and orderly condition.

Black (N=1021)	White (N=1420)	Other (N=229)	
47%	46%	42%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	24	29	Neither agree nor disagree.
26	29	30	Disagree/strongly disagree.

35. Any time a minority soldier acts like he's proud of his race, he can expect to get treated badly by his CO.

Black (N=1025)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=229)	
34%	8%	22%	Strongly agree/agree.
35	20	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
31	72	45	Disagree/strongly disagree.

36. My supervisor communicates effectively with his subordinates.

Black (N=1024)	White (N=1415)	Other (N=229)	
39%	46%	42%	Strongly agree/agree.
35	27	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
26	27	25	Disagree/strongly disagree.

37. In the Army, men and women doing the same job usually get equal respect from their supervisors.

Black (N=1018)	White (N=1403)	Other (N=228)	
35%	40%	33%	Strongly agree/agree.
33	30	36	Neither agree nor disagree.
32	30	30	Disagree/strongly disagree.

38. In the long run, everybody in the Army will benefit from race relations and equal opportunity programs.

Black (N=1028)	White (N=1419)	Other (N=227)	
48%	33%	40%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	35	39	Neither agree nor disagree.
20	32	22	Disagree/strongly disagree.

39. My supervisor keeps himself informed about the progress his subordinates are making in their work.

Black (N=1024)	White (N=1419)	Other (N=229)	
47%	54%	54%	Strongly agree/agree.
31	26	29	Neither agree nor disagree.
23	20	18	Disagree/strongly disagree.

40. Members of my unit get the job done right without needing direct supervision.

Black (N=1025)	White (N=1423)	Other (N=229)	
48%	43%	41%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	28	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
22	29	28	Disagree/strongly disagree.

41. Equal opportunity exists right now for women in the Army.

Black (N=1017)	White (N=1406)	Other (N=227)	
48%	43%	38%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	35	39	Neither agree nor disagree.
21	22	23	Disagree/strongly disagree.

42. White soldiers get hassled by the Army as much as minority soldiers do.

Black (N=1024)	White (N=1424)	Other (N=229)	
29%	74%	43%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	15	25	Neither agree nor disagree.
41	11	31	Disagree/strongly disagree.

43. In my unit, non-Whites get worse jobs and details than Whites.

Black (N=1026)	White (N=1420)	Other (N=229)	
40%	6%	23%	Strongly agree/agree.
33	19	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
27	75	46	Disagree/strongly disagree.

44. Members of my unit maintain a low level of combat readiness.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=229)	
29%	27%	28%	Strongly agree/agree.
24	21	30	Neither agree nor disagree.
47	52	42	Disagree/strongly disagree.

45. Most of the Army's race relations education programs are unnecessary.

Black (N=1039)	White (N=1426)	Other (N=231)	
24%	38%	25%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	34	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
44	28	44	Disagree/strongly disagree.

46. Most non-Whites tend to be loud and boisterous.

Black (N=1039)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=230)	
25%	55%	41%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	24	29	Neither agree nor disagree.
43	21	30	Disagree/strongly disagree.

47. My supervisor knows and treats his subordinates as individuals.

Black (N=1042)	White (N=1429)	Other (N=230)	
42%	54%	49%	Strongly agree/agree.
29	25	30	Neither agree nor disagree.
29	21	22	Disagree/strongly disagree.

48. There are organized groups of minority soldiers in this community whose main purpose is to fight against White soldiers.

Black (N=1038)	White (N=1423)	Other (N=230)	
13%	20%	17%	Strongly agree/agree.
33	34	35	Neither agree nor disagree.
54	46	48	Disagree/strongly disagree.

49. Many Army supervisors try to make it difficult for minority personnel to go through the chain of command to present a complaint of discrimination.

Black (N=1045)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=231)	
45%	14%	32%	Strongly agree/agree
32	27	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
23	60	35	Disagree/strongly disagree.

50. White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others.

Black (N=1045)	White (N=1425)	Other (N=231)	
15%	37%	16%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	32	45	Neither agree nor disagree.
55	32	39	Disagree/strongly disagree.

51. Members of my unit do high quality work.

Black (N=1045)	White (N=1431)	Other (N=231)	
47%	47%	39%	Strongly agree/agree.
32	30	35	Neither agree nor disagree.
22	23	26	Disagree/strongly disagree.

52. Whites have a better chance than non-Whites to get the best training opportunities.

Black (N=1034)	White (N=1422)	Other (N=229)	
46%	9%	26%	Strongly agree/agree.
31	23	31	Neither agree nor disagree.
24	68	44	Disagree/strongly disagree.

53. Most officers usually see to it that EO training policies and regulations are enforced.

Black (N=1042)	White (N=1421)	Other (N=232)	
29%	34%	27%	Strongly agree/agree.
40	41	44	Neither agree nor disagree.
31	25	29	Disagree/strongly disagree.

54. My supervisor makes decisions quickly and sticks to them.

Black (N=1043)	White (N=1424)	Other (N=230)	
34%	37%	38%	Strongly agree/agree.
30	33	34	Neither agree nor disagree.
36	30	28	Disagree/strongly disagree.

55. There is racial discrimination against Whites at this community.

Black (N=1038)	White (N=1422)	Other (N=231)	
20%	32%	23%	Strongly agree/agree.
36	33	37	Neither agree nor disagree.
45	36	40	Disagree/strongly disagree.

56. Army officers get back at Blacks they think are "militant" by not recommending them for promotions.

Black (N=1048)	White (N=1428)	Other (N=232)	
53%	12%	25%	Strongly agree/agree.
29	35	39	Neither agree nor disagree.
18	54	35	Disagree/strongly disagree.

57. Most non-Whites don't really want to be promoted to positions of responsibility.

Black (N=1047)	White (N=1427)	Other (N=231)	
17%	17%	15%	Strongly agree/agree.
23	32	33	Neither agree nor disagree.
60	51	52	Disagree/strongly disagree.

58. Members of my unit do just enough work to get by.

Black (N=1049)	White (N=1430)	Other (N=230)	
41%	44%	47%	Strongly agree/agree.
24	22	27	Neither agree nor disagree.
35	34	26	Disagree/strongly disagree.

59. Race relations education programs in this community are mostly just for show.

Black (N=1047)	White (N=1432)	Other (N=230)	
44%	52%	46%	Strongly agree/agree.
27	29	28	Neither agree nor disagree.
29	19	26	Disagree/strongly disagree.

**JUNIOR ENLISTED QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**RESULTS OF CHI-SQUARE TESTS FOR**  
**SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES**

*Blacks versus Whites versus Others*

Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p	Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p
II- 1	32.69	2	<.01	III-10	59.54	8	<.01
2	19.31	6	<.01	11	48.06	8	<.01
3	247.34	6	<.01	12	38.91	8	<.01
4	81.83	6	<.01	13	27.48	8	<.01
5	113.65	8	<.01	14	17.70	6	<.01
6	9.41	8	n.s.	15	13.64	6	n.s.
7	111.68	4	<.01	16	17.80	8	n.s.
8	263.73	10	<.01	17	20.78	8	<.01
9	6.90	4	n.s.	18	16.62	8	n.s.
10	70.87	8	<.01	19	15.54	6	n.s.
11	227.72	14	<.01	20	18.02	6	<.01
12	77.24	4	<.01	21	117.90	6	<.01
13	37.76	6	<.01	22	82.50	2	<.01
14	59.74	6	<.01	23	27.86	2	<.01
15	10.58	4	n.s.	24	28.89	2	<.01
16	16.45	6	n.s.	25	14.14	4	<.01
17	22.04	6	<.01	IV- 1	7.91	6	n.s.
18	22.70	10	n.s.	2	21.53	6	<.01
19	18.07	10	n.s.	3	9.97	4	n.s.
20	26.78	10	n.s.	4	15.76	4	<.01
21	13.18	6	n.s.	5	11.13	4	n.s.
22	12.53	6	n.s.	6	27.30	4	<.01
23	5.78	6	n.s.	7	89.77	2	<.01
24	126.20	4	<.01	8	187.32	4	<.01
25	48.73	6	<.01	9	53.85	4	<.01
26	33.03	4	<.01	10	104.07	2	<.01
III- 1	954.51	4	<.01	11	18.37	2	<.01
2	43.51	6	<.01	12	34.91	4	<.01
3	777.26	6	<.01	13	10.86	6	n.s.
4	5.82	4	n.s.	14	.88	2	n.s.
5	73.47	4	<.01	15	32.39	2	<.01
6	32.69	8	<.01	16	26.88	2	<.01
7	28.13	8	<.01	17	38.03	2	<.01
8	145.58	6	<.01	18	43.59	2	<.01
9	169.02	6	<.01	19	30.97	2	<.01

Blacks versus Whites versus Others

Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p	Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p
IV-19	30.97	2	< .01	IV-62	12.03	4	n.s.
20	18.87	2	< .01	63	18.66	4	< .01
21	34.95	2	< .01	64	6.70	4	n.s.
22	22.69	4	< .01	V- 1	527.77	4	< .01
23	198.46	4	< .01	2	51.59	4	< .01
24	29.68	4	< .01	3	380.87	4	< .01
25	100.32	4	< .01	4	38.15	4	< .01
26	52.03	4	< .01	5	39.12	4	< .01
27	14.29	4	< .01	6	15.28	4	< .01
28	29.91	4	< .01	7	503.77	4	< .01
29	27.72	4	< .01	8	14.68	4	< .01
30	2.42	4	n.s.	9	420.28	4	< .01
31	23.43	4	< .01	10	541.64	4	< .01
32	55.85	4	< .01	11	456.41	4	< .01
33	44.12	4	< .01	12	20.58	4	< .01
34	72.29	4	< .01	13	201.55	4	< .01
35	5.61	4	n.s.	14	216.14	4	< .01
36	117.46	4	< .01	15	10.90	4	n.s.
37	39.96	4	< .01	16	201.20	4	< .01
38	14.95	4	< .01	17	70.26	4	< .01
39	8.70	4	< .01	18	13.93	4	< .01
40	15.91	4	< .01	19	234.85	4	< .01
41	53.55	4	< .01	20	16.58	4	< .01
42	30.38	4	< .01	21	18.86	4	< .01
43	14.63	4	< .01	22	17.61	4	< .01
44	26.77	4	< .01	23	405.19	4	< .01
45	6.14	4	n.s.	24	60.00	4	< .01
46	16.44	4	< .01	25	42.43	4	< .01
47	10.45	4	n.s.	26	8.13	4	n.s.
48	7.89	4	n.s.	27	502.81	4	< .01
49	3.48	4	n.s.	28	862.01	4	< .01
50	6.93	4	n.s.	29	3.52	4	n.s.
51	7.85	4	n.s.	30	61.14	4	< .01
52	14.62	4	< .01	31	114.43	4	< .01
53	18.80	4	< .01	32	59.95	4	< .01
54	88.04	4	< .01	33	1054.57	4	< .01
55	44.31	4	< .01	34	7.12	4	n.s.
56	12.53	4	n.s.	35	440.17	4	< .01
57	57.95	4	n.s.	36	17.56	4	< .01
58	40.29	4	< .01	37	9.19	4	< .01
59	14.94	4	< .01	38	74.92	4	< .01
60	18.97	4	< .01	39	15.95	4	< .01
61	28.14	4	< .01	40	15.87	4	< .01



Blacks *versus* Whites *versus* Others

Item	$\chi^2$	df	p
V-41	10.06	4	n.s.
42	508.28	4	<.01
43	645.61	4	<.01
44	14.19	4	<.01
45	92.50	4	<.01
46	241.22	4	<.01
47	34.54	4	<.01
48	26.42	4	<.01
49	408.70	4	<.01
50	204.76	4	<.01
51	5.58	4	n.s.
52	587.11	4	<.01
53	15.05	4	<.01
54	9.52	4	n.s.
55	50.20	4	<.01
56	574.16	4	<.01
57	25.35	4	<.01
58	8.95	4	n.s.
59	38.75	4	<.01

**APPENDIX B**  
**CHAIN OF COMMAND QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**DATA**

## CHAIN OF COMMAND QUESTIONNAIRE

Responses are given as percentages of replies by black, white, non-commissioned officer, and officer, with the number of respondents (N) as shown. The difference between the sum of black and white respondents and that of NCO and officers is because warrant officers were not included in the latter set. Columns that total to 99 or 101 percent are due to rounding.

1. Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Black (N=105)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=292)	Officer (N=234)	
32%	45%	42%	44%	In general, race relations in the Army are good.
55	50	50	50	In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
12	5	8	6	In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

2. Over the past year, race relations in the Army:

Black (N=103)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=290)	Officer (N=233)	
54%	44%	51%	41%	have been getting better.
40	51	42	56	have not changed.
6	5	7	3	have been getting worse.

3. Compared to all the different kinds of training the Army conducts, how important do you think race relations training is?

Black (N=105)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=292)	Officer (N=235)	
45%	15%	27%	14%	Extremely important.
43	52	48	53	Important
9	27	18	28	Not very important.
4	6	7	4	Not important at all.

4. In general, what is *your* opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?

Black (N=105)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=292)	Officer (N=234)	
15%	9%	13%	8%	Very effective in reducing racial tensions.
66	62	59	68	Somewhat effective in reducing racial
17	26	25	24	Not effective at all in reducing racial tensions.
2	3	3	1	No opinion.

5. What kind of command support does the race relations education receive at this community?

Black (N=104)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=290)	Officer (N=235)	
36%	35%	37%	35%	Excellent
32	45	40	45	Good
26	16	17	17	Fair.
5	3	3	3	Poor.
2	1	2	0	Very poor.

6. What group within the Army do you think needs race relations training the most?

Black (N=92)	White (N=410)	NCO (N=263)	Officer (N=224)	
29%	65%	60%	58%	E1 - E4
21	18	15	23	E5 - E6
21	10	9	14	E7 - E9
12	3	7	1	O1 - O3
14	2	6	2	O4 - O6
3	2	3	1	O7 - O10

7. Is current training reaching this group?

Black (N=100)	White (N=425)	NCO (N=290)	Officer (N=224)	
56%	70%	71%	65%	Yes.
44	30	29	35	No.

8. Do you think race relations training should be mandatory or voluntary?

Black (N=104)	White (N=436)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=235)	
73%	62%	59%	72%	Mandatory.
27	38	41	28	Voluntary.

9. Do you feel that the race relations education program has helped people of different races get along better with each other in your unit?

Black (N=103)	White (N=434)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=232)	
17%	12%	18%	7%	People get along much better.
57	49	47	55	People get along a little better.
24	34	30	35	No change.
2	4	5	3	Relations are worse as a result of the program.

Do the following groups of people attend race relations classes at this community?

10. Junior enlisted (E1 - E5)?

Black (N=102)	White (N=434)	NCO (N=290)	Officer (N=236)	
95%	96%	96%	95%	Yes
1	1	1	0	No
4	3	3	5	Don't know.

11. Senior enlisted (E6 - E9)?

Black (N=99)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=285)	Officer (N=235)	
90%	90%	90%	89%	Yes
3	3	3	4	No
7	7	7	7	Don't know.

12. Junior officers (O1 - O3)?

Black (N=99)	White (N=430)	NCO (N=283)	Officer (N=236)	
75%	82%	73%	89%	Yes
7	4	5	3	No
18	14	22	7	Don't know.

13. Senior officers (O4 - O6)

Black (N=97)	White (N=426)	NCO (N=278)	Officer (N=234)	
39%	54%	45%	60%	Yes
9	6	7	6	No
52	40	48	35	Don't know

14. Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=100)	(N=428)	(N=291)	(N=228)	
11%	26%	29%	17%	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>better than Whites</i> in the Army.
39	67	56	70	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>exactly the same as Whites</i> in the Army.
50	6	15	13	In general, non-Whites are treated <i>worse than Whites</i> in the Army.

15. As a general rule, which racial group is *best qualified for promotion* to higher enlisted grades in the Army?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=434)	(N=293)	(N=235)	
86%	85%	90%	80%	On the average, soldiers of all races are qualified.
12	14	10	19	On the average, White soldiers are best qualified.
2	1	1	1	On the average, non-White soldiers are best qualified.

16. As a general rule, which racial group has the *best chance for promotion* to higher enlisted grades?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=103)	(N=429)	(N=292)	(N=230)	
52%	79%	72%	77%	Chances are equal for all races.
46	11	18	17	Whites have the best chance.
3	10	10	6	Blacks have the best chance.
0	0	0	1	Other minorities have the best chance.

17. In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races in the same work unit avoid each other *during regular duty hours*?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=103)	(N=434)	(N=292)	(N=235)	
3%	1%	2%	0%	It is definitely good for the unit.
2	0	1	0	It is probably good for the unit.
12	13	15	10	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
26	33	26	38	It is probably bad for the unit.
57	53	56	52	It is definitely bad for the unit.

18. In your opinion, what does it mean when soldiers of different races avoid each other *in their off-duty time*?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=434)	(N=292)	(N=236)	
0%	1%	1%	0%	It is definitely good for the unit.
3	1	2	0	It is probably good for the unit.
32	38	30	45	It is neither good nor bad for the unit.
27	36	27	42	It is probably bad for the unit.
38	24	39	12	It is definitely bad for the unit.

19. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to White soldiers that are based on racist beliefs?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=436)	(N=294)	(N=236)	
18%	5%	9%	4%	Yes.
82	95	91	96	No.

20. Do you personally know any white soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=435)	(N=294)	(N=235)	
14%	3%	7%	3%	Yes.
86	97	93	97	No.

21. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to minority soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=435)	(N=295)	(N=234)	
6%	10%	8%	9%	Yes.
94	90	92	91	No.

22. Do you personally know any minority soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=106)	(N=434)	(N=293)	(N=233)	
4%	6%	5%	7%	Yes.
96	94	95	93	No.

23. White enlisted personnel and supervisors act as though minority soldiers have to "earn the right" to be treated equally.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=436)	(N=293)	(N=235)	
35%	5%	14%	5%	Agree
29	9	14	10	Neutral
36	86	72	85	Disagree

24. Most NCO's usually see to it that Race Relations policies and regulations are enforced.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=437)	(N=295)	(N=236)	
55%	74%	76%	65%	Agree
15	15	11	19	Neutral
30	11	13	16	Disagree

25. Non-Whites have had to become "militant" in order to have their complaints taken seriously.

Black (N=106)	White (N=437)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=236)	
33%	13%	17%	16%	Agree
21	10	11	14	Neutral
46	77	72	70	Disagree

26. All MOS's should be open to enlisted women.

Black (N=106)	White (N=436)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=236)	
34%	24%	30%	20%	Agree
4	4	4	4	Neutral
62	72	66	76	Disagree

27. Members of my unit show up for work on time.

Black (N=106)	White (N=435)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=236)	
56%	72%	68%	71%	Agree
17	10	13	10	Neutral
27	17	19	20	Disagree

28. Whites try to force their attitudes and ways upon minorities.

Black (N=106)	White (N=437)	NCO (N=296)	Officer (N=231)	
22%	8%	10%	12%	Agree
24	14	15	17	Neutral
54	78	75	71	Disagree

29. Whites assume that non-Whites commit any crime that occurs, such as thefts in living quarters.

Black (N=106)	White (N=437)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=236)	
28%	3%	11%	2%	Agree
25	11	11	16	Neutral
47	86	78	81	Disagree

30. Whites do not show proper respect for Blacks with higher rank.

Black (N=106)	White (N=436)	NCO (N=296)	Officer (N=235)	
19%	2%	7%	2%	Agree
18	2	7	2	Neutral
63	96	86	96	Disagree



31. Non-Whites get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.

Black (N=105)	White (N=434)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=235)	
8%	15%	16%	11%	Agree
15	16	20	12	Neutral
77	69	64	77	Disagree

32. Members of my unit fail to work together as a team.

Black (N=106)	White (N=436)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=236)	
26%	12%	16%	13%	Agree
18	10	14	7	Neutral
56	78	70	80	Disagree

33. Everybody in the Army should be *required* to attend company-level race relations classes.

Black (N=105)	White (N=435)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=234)	
74%	52%	56%	56%	Agree
11	14	12	17	Neutral
15	34	32	27	Disagree

34. Most Whites in the Army seem to think that Blacks aren't very intelligent.

Black (N=106)	White (N=437)	NCO (N=296)	Officer (N=236)	
48%	13%	21%	17%	Agree
22	18	17	18	Neutral
30	69	62	65	Disagree

35. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is active in this Army community.

Black (N=106)	White (N=434)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=236)	
14%	2%	5%	3%	Agree
37	15	21	17	Neutral
49	83	74	80	Disagree

36. Company-level race relations classes are a waste of time.

Black (N=106)	White (N=435)	NCO (N=295)	Officer (N=235)	
13%	22%	22%	17%	Agree
22	20	18	22	Neutral
65	59	60	60	Disagree

37. Many non-Whites have begun to act as if they are superior to Whites.

Black (N=106)	White (N=429)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=230)	
15%	27%	25%	24%	Agree
29	21	22	23	Neutral
56	52	53	53	Disagree

38. The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.

Black (N=106)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=233)	
64%	80%	76%	79%	Agree
21	12	15	9	Neutral
15	8	9	11	Disagree

39. Members of my unit display disorderly conduct off post.

Black (N=104)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=220)	
28%	30%	24%	37%	Agree
32	25	28	22	Neutral
40	45	48	40	Disagree

40. Most Whites in the Army don't want racial minorities to be treated equally.

Black (N=106)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
14%	2%	5%	2%	Agree
33	8	14	10	Neutral
53	90	81	88	Disagree

41. Most minority group members haven't worked as hard to succeed as most Whites have.

Black (N=106)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
14%	15%	20%	9	Agree
15	17	19	13	Neutral
71	68	61	77	Disagree

42. Members of my unit cooperate with each other.

Black (N=106)	White (N=429)	NCO (N=292)	Officer (N=231)	
51%	79%	69%	81%	Agree
22	10	14	7	Neutral
27	11	16	11	Disagree

43. Non-Whites get more than their share of dirty details.

Black (N=105)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=233)	
13%	4%	7%	3%	Agree
28	10	13	12	Neutral
59	86	80	85	Disagree

44. In my unit, Whites get away with breaking rules that non-Whites are punished for.

Black (N=105)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=232)	
13%	1%	5%	1%	Agree
27	4	9	8	Neutral
60	95	86	91	Disagree

45. Women in the Army get as many opportunities for training, promotions, and awards as men do.

Black (N=106)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
51%	49%	56%	41%	Agree
27	25	23	28	Neutral
22	26	21	31	Disagree

46. Members of my unit sit around on duty hours doing nothing.

Black (N=106)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=232)	
20%	25%	21%	26%	Agree
17	15	16	16	Neutral
63	60	63	58	Disagree

47. The Army's race relations education program helps minorities get ahead at the expense of Whites.

Black (N=106)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=233)	
5%	10%	10%	7%	Agree
15	19	20	16	Neutral
80	71	70	77	Disagree

48. I understand people of other races better since I've taken part in race relations education programs.

Black (N=105)	White (N=433)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
50%	44%	45%	46%	Agree
29	25	28	23	Neutral
22	31	27	31	Disagree

49. A Black in the Army must do more than the average White to make the grade.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=106)	(N=433)	(N=294)	(N=233)	
42%	6%	14%	10	Agree
22	6	10	7	Neutral
36	88	76	82	Disagree

50. Members of my unit keep living and working areas in a clean and orderly condition.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=106)	(N=432)	(N=293)	(N=233)	
58%	75%	70%	75%	Agree
26	12	16	11	Neutral
16	13	13	14	Disagree

51. Any time a minority soldier acts like he's proud of his race, he can expect to get treated badly by his CO.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=432)	(N=292)	(N=233)	
12%	2%	5%	2%	Agree
19	6	10	7	Neutral
69	92	85	91	Disagree

52. In the Army, men and women doing the same job usually get equal respect from their supervisors.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=431)	(N=292)	(N=231)	
46%	55%	60%	46%	Agree
23	22	20	24	Neutral
31	23	20	29	Disagree

53. In the long run, everybody in the Army will benefit from race relations and equal opportunity programs.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=428)	(N=290)	(N=230)	
76%	61%	63%	68%	Agree
12	23	21	18	Neutral
12	16	16	14	Disagree

54. Members of my unit get the job done right without needing direct supervision.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=429)	(N=292)	(N=230)	
25%	32%	33%	26%	Agree
34	28	30	28	Neutral
41	40	37	46	Disagree

55. Equal opportunity exists right now for women in the Army.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=431)	(N=292)	(N=231)	
43%	43%	51%	34%	Agree
22	27	24	27	Neutral
35	30	25	39	Disagree

56. White soldiers get hassled by the Army as much as minority soldiers do.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=427)	(N=290)	(N=229)	
36%	73%	63%	69%	Agree
37	21	23	25	Neutral
28	6	13	7	Disagree

57. In my unit, non-Whites get worse jobs and details than Whites.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=431)	(N=292)	(N=231)	
11%	2%	4%	3%	Agree
17	7	11	6	Neutral
72	91	85	91	Disagree

58. Members of my unit maintain a low level of combat readiness.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=428)	(N=290)	(N=231)	
18%	17%	16%	19%	Agree
14	11	13	9	Neutral
68	72	71	72	Disagree

59. Most of the Army's race relations education programs are unnecessary.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=429)	(N=291)	(N=231)	
14%	29%	25%	28%	Agree
15	23	22	20	Neutral
71	48	53	52	Disagree

60. Most non-Whites tend to be loud and boisterous.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=432)	(N=293)	(N=232)	
20%	21%	28%	11%	Agree
21	26	25	25	Neutral
59	53	47	63	Disagree

61. There are organized groups of minority soldiers in this community whose main purpose is to fight against White soldiers.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=430)	(N=291)	(N=231)	
6%	8%	8%	7%	Agree
29	24	25	23	Neutral
65	69	66	70	Disagree

62. Many Army supervisors try to make it difficult for minority personnel to go through the chain of command to present a complaint of discrimination.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=431)	(N=292)	(N=232)	
21%	2%	6%	6%	Agree
23	10	12	10	Neutral
56	88	82	84	Disagree

63. White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=104)	(N=431)	(N=291)	(N=232)	
4%	15%	12%	13%	Agree
25	28	30	23	Neutral
71	57	57	64	Disagree

64. Members of my unit do high quality work.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=431)	(N=293)	(N=231)	
63%	74%	71%	74%	Agree
26	14	18	13	Neutral
11	12	11	12	Disagree

65. Whites have a better chance than non-Whites to get the best training opportunities.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=105)	(N=431)	(N=292)	(N=232)	
22%	6%	7%	10%	Agree
25	9	13	10	Neutral
53	85	80	79	Disagree

66. Most officers usually see to it that EO policies and regulations are enforced.

Black	White	NCO	Officer	
(N=106)	(N=432)	(N=294)	(N=233)	
62%	85%	76%	88%	Agree
24	9	15	8	Neutral
14	6	10	5	Disagree

67. There is racial discrimination against Whites at this community.

Black (N=106)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
8%	9%	11%	6%	Agree
22	21	22	20	Neutral
71	70	67	74	Disagree

68. Army officers get back at Blacks they think are "militant" by not recommending them for promotions.

Black (N=106)	White (N=429)	NCO (N=292)	Officer (N=232)	
30%	4%	10%	7%	Agree
34	14	19	15	Neutral
36	82	71	78	Disagree

69. Most non-Whites don't really want to be promoted to positions of responsibility.

Black (N=106)	White (N=431)	NCO (N=293)	Officer (N=233)	
6%	4%	6%	3%	Agree
17	14	15	11	Neutral
77	82	79	85	Disagree

70. Members of my unit do just enough work to get by.

Black (N=106)	White (N=430)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=231)	
26%	15%	18%	16%	Agree
17	17	15	19	Neutral
57	68	68	65	Disagree

71. Race relations education programs in this community are mostly just for show.

Black (N=106)	White (N=432)	NCO (N=294)	Officer (N=233)	
24%	25%	22%	28%	Agree
24	23	22	23	Neutral
52	52	55	50	Disagree

Responses to questions on RR/EO training were analyzed by race only. These follow.

2. How many of the race relations education seminars held in your company since 1 January 1978, did you personally attend?

Black (N=88)	White (N=335)	
23%	21%	One.
19	26	Two.
15	11	Three.
18	15	Four or more.
3	5	Don't know.
21	21	None.

3. On the average, how long were the unit race relations seminars you attended?

Black (N=70)	White (N=332)	
9%	15%	Less than 1 hour.
83	72	1 - 3 hours.
6	4	3 - 6 hours.
3	8	More than 6 hours.

4. Did you actively participate in the discussions of the race relations education seminars held in your company since 1 January 1978?

Black (N=70)	White (N=263)	
80%	86%	Yes.
20	14	No.

5. Have trained race relations/equal opportunity personnel from outside your company conducted any of the seminars you have attended since 1 January 1978?

Black (N=72)	White (N=268)	
44%	39%	Yes.
50	51	No.
6	10	Don't know.

6. In general, how interesting was the material covered in the unit race relations classes you have attended?

Black (N=71)	Whites (N=266)	
41%	17%	Very interesting.
48	61	Somewhat interesting.
11	22	Not interesting.



7. Did the unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, increase your interest in improving race relations?

Black	White	
(N=71)	(N=265)	
27%	11%	Yes, a lot.
45	51	Yes, somewhat.
25	32	No, not at all.
3	6	It decreased my interest.

8. Have unit race relations classes you attended since 1 January 1978, helped you know how you can work to improve race relations in your unit?

Black	White	
(N=70)	(N=266)	
23%	29%	A great deal.
54	63	Somewhat.
23	27	Not at all.

9. Have you attended a three to four hour Executive Seminar on race relations?

Black	White	
(N=99)	(N=394)	
50%	55%	Yes.
50	45	No.

10. Do you think the Executive Seminars can serve a useful purpose?

Black	White	
(N=97)	(N=388)	
33%	19%	Definitely yes.
38	50	They may help.
5	8	Definitely no.
24	23	No opinion.

11. How interesting do you think the Executive Seminars are for those who attend?

Black	White	
(N=97)	(N=387)	
23%	13%	Very interesting.
39	41	Somewhat interesting.
5	14	Not interesting.
33	32	No opinion.

12. Do you think the holding of Executive Seminars is a good idea?

Black	White	
(N=98)	(N=388)	
68%	47%	Yes.
9	15	No.
22	37	No opinion.

# USAREUR CHAIN OF COMMAND QUESTIONNAIRE

## RESULTS OF CHI-SQUARE TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

### Black versus White

Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p	Item	X <sup>2</sup>	df	p
1.	12.42	3	< .01	41	.41	2	n.s.
2	4.21	2	n.s.	42	33.10	2	< .01
3	49.25	3	< .01	43	40.10	2	< .01
4	6.42	3	n.s.	44	98.48	2	< .01
5	10.42	4	n.s.	45	1.02	2	n.s.
6	62.33	6	< .01	46	1.11	2	n.s.
7	8.05	2	n.s.	47	3.93	2	n.s.
8	3.90	1	n.s.	48	3.19	2	n.s.
9	6.23	3	n.s.	49	142.63	2	< .01
10	.05	2	n.s.	50	14.87	2	< .01
11	.06	2	n.s.	51	48.45	2	< .01
12	3.40	2	n.s.	52	3.48	2	n.s.
13	7.43	2	n.s.	53	13.17	3	< .01
14	124.81	2	< .01	54	2.95	2	n.s.
15	2.89	2	n.s.	55	1.20	2	n.s.
16	70.09	3	< .01	56	64.85	2	< .01
17	13.66	4	< .01	57	30.03	2	< .01
18	15.31	4	< .01	58	.93	2	n.s.
19	27.48	2	< .01	59	18.14	2	< .01
20	21.30	1	< .01	60	1.50	2	n.s.
21	1.17	1	n.s.	61	1.62	2	n.s.
22	.66	1	n.s.	62	72.03	2	< .01
23	126.28	2	n.s.	63	11.09	2	< .01
24	22.54	2	< .01	64	7.94	2	n.s.
25	40.50	2	< .01	65	51.58	2	< .01
26	4.79	2	n.s.	66	28.68	2	< .01
27	11.22	2	< .01	67	.32	2	n.s.
28	26.48	2	< .01	68	110.30	2	< .01
29	96.33	2	< .01	69	1.14	2	n.s.
30	100.23	2	< .01	70	7.59	2	n.s.
31	4.24	2	n.s.	71	.01	2	n.s.
32	22.62	2	< .01				
33	18.76	2	< .01				
34	74.71	2	< .01				
35	58.78	2	< .01				
36.	3.95	2	n.s.				
37.	7.20	2	n.s.				
38	12.30	2	< .01				
39	1.94	2	< .01				
40	89.20	2	< .01				

**APPENDIX C**  
**EOSO STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**DATA**

## EOSO STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In general, what is your opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 25% | Very effective in reducing racial tensions.       |
| 67  | Somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.   |
| 7   | Not effective at all in reducing racial tensions. |
| 1   | No opinion.                                       |

2. In general, this community's race relations education program is:

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |                                    |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| 13% | very effective.                    |
| 53  | somewhat effective                 |
| 20  | neither effective nor ineffective. |
| 8   | somewhat ineffective               |
| 7   | very ineffective.                  |

3. What kind of command support does the race relations program receive at this community?

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

- |     |            |
|-----|------------|
| 11% | Excellent. |
| 26  | Good.      |
| 30  | Fair.      |
| 24  | Poor.      |
| 8   | Very poor. |

4. What group within the Army do you think needs race relations training the most?

**EO Staff**

(N = 59)

- |    |          |
|----|----------|
| 8% | E1 - E4  |
| 10 | E5 - E6  |
| 53 | E7 - E9  |
| 17 | O1 - O3  |
| 12 | O4 - O6  |
| 0  | O7 - O10 |

5. Is current training reaching this group?

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

- |     |      |
|-----|------|
| 21% | Yes. |
| 79  | No.  |

6. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 11% | In general, race relations in the Army are good. |
| 41  | In general, race relations in the Army are fair. |
| 24  | In general, race relations in the Army are poor. |

7. Over the past year race relations in the Army:

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |                           |
|-----|---------------------------|
| 28% | have been getting better. |
| 51  | have not changed.         |
| 21  | have been getting worse.  |

8. In your opinion, how much racial prejudice against non-White soldiers is there in the civilian community surrounding this community?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |    |                              |
|----|------------------------------|
| 43 | A lot of prejudice.          |
| 53 | Some prejudice.              |
| 1  | Very little or no prejudice. |
| 3  | No opinion.                  |

9. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to White soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |      |
|-----|------|
| 43% | Yes. |
| 57  | No.  |

10. Do you personally know any White soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |     |      |
|-----|------|
| 28% | Yes. |
| 72  | No.  |

11. Do you know of any organizations or groups in this Army community that are open only to minority soldiers and that are based on racist beliefs?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

- |    |      |
|----|------|
| 9% | Yes. |
| 91 | No.  |

29. In this community, race is not a factor in UCMJ treatment.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

24%	Strongly agree/agree
17	Neither agree nor disagree
59	Disagree/strongly disagree

30. In this community, promotion to a higher grade is highly correlated with race.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

42%	Strongly agree/agree
29	Neither agree nor disagree
29	Disagree/strongly disagree

31. Very little is done by the community chain of command to insure that all soldiers receive fair and impartial treatment in the local civilian community.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

43%	Strongly agree/agree
16	Neither agree nor disagree
41	Disagree/strongly disagree

32. In this community, a non-White soldier is more likely to receive a less-than-honorable discharge than a white soldier.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

54%	Strongly agree/agree
21	Neither agree nor disagree
25	Disagree/strongly disagree

33. USAREUR provides all unit commanders and leaders in this community with the materials necessary to support the unit EO program.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

24%	Strongly agree/agree
7	Neither agree nor disagree
69	Disagree/strongly disagree

34. USAREUR provides the community chain of command with the necessary support in the area of EO.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

25%	Strongly agree/agree
9	Neither agree nor disagree
66	Disagree/strongly disagree

12. Do you personally know any minority soldiers who belong to groups of this kind?

**EO Staff**

(N = 70)

8%	Yes.
92	No.

13. How often do Whites in this community get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

1%	Very often.
8	Often.
27	Sometimes.
43	Seldom.
21	Never.

14. How often do non-White or minority personnel get together in certain situations to harass or keep Whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

3	Very often.
9	Often.
25	Sometimes.
47	Seldom.
16	Never.

Put an "X" in the proper box to show how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

15. Most NCO's in this community usually see to it that EO policies and regulations are enforced.

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

13%	Strongly agree/agree
8	Neither agree nor disagree
79	Disagree/strongly disagree

16. Non-Whites get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

5%	Strongly agree/agree
20	Neither agree nor disagree
75	Disagree/strongly disagree

17. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is active in this Army community

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

22%	Strongly agree/agree
24	Neither agree nor disagree
54	Disagree/strongly disagree

18. The Army is firmly committed to the principles of equal opportunity.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

47%	Strongly agree/agree
26	Neither agree nor disagree
26	Disagree/strongly disagree

19. In this community, Whites get away with breaking rules that non-Whites are punished for.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

50%	Strongly agree/agree
24	Neither agree nor disagree
26	Disagree/strongly disagree

20. Equal opportunity exists right now for women in the Army.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

11%	Strongly agree/agree
21	Neither agree nor disagree
68	Disagree/strongly disagree

21. Most officers usually see to it that EO policies and regulations are enforced.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

17%	Strongly agree/agree
21	Neither agree nor disagree
62	Disagree/strongly disagree

22. There is racial discrimination against whites at this community.

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

20%	Strongly agree/agree
16	Neither agree nor disagree
64	Disagree/strongly disagree



23. Whites and non-Whites in the community mix well, on and off duty.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

25%	Strongly agree/agree
25	Neither agree nor disagree
50	Disagree/strongly disagree

24. In the long run, everyone will benefit from EO training.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

82%	Strongly agree/agree
11	Neither agree nor disagree
7	Disagree/strongly disagree

25. Soldiers of different races avoid contact with one another whenever they can.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

38%	Strongly agree/agree
33	Neither agree nor disagree
29	Disagree/strongly disagree

26. Equal opportunity exists right now for minorities in the Army.

**EO Staff**

(N = 76)

21%	Strongly agree/agree
21	Neither agree nor disagree
58	Disagree/strongly disagree

27. Equal opportunity training is as important as other Army training.

**EO Staff**

(N = 73)

82%	Strongly agree/agree
4	Neither agree nor disagree
14	Disagree/strongly disagree

28. Chain-of-command personnel in this community fully accept their EO responsibility.

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

9%	Strongly agree/agree
17	Neither agree nor disagree
73	Disagree/strongly disagree

35. Compared with last year, how great are the chances for overt racial conflict today in this community?

**EO Staff**

(N = 70)

40%	The chances are greater.
41	The chances are the same.
19	The chances are smaller.

36. How often do White and Non-White soldiers in this community form groups and challenge each other to fights?

**EO Staff**

(N = 75)

9%	Very often.
15	Often.
27	Sometimes.
44	Seldom.
5	Never.

37. Is racial tension a serious problem in the units at this community?

**EO Staff**

(N = 73)

64%	Yes.
36	No.

38. How have the problems of unit racial tension changed in this community over the last year?

**EO Staff**

(N = 66)

28%	The problems have become more serious.
61	The problems have not changed.
11	There are fewer problems.